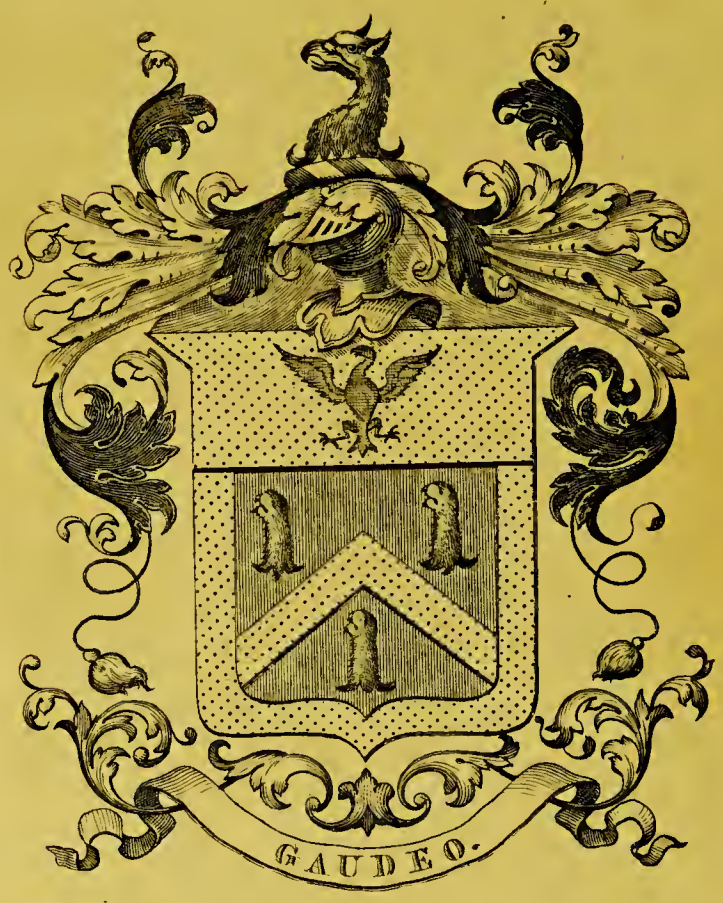

John Carter Brown.

JOHN CARTER BROWN

A

PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL

HISTORY

OF THE

SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

OF THE

EUROPEANS

IN THE

EAST AND WEST INDIES.

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General considerations upon the establishment of colonies.

HISTORY entertains us with nothing but the accounts of conquerors, who have employed themselves at the expence of the lives and the happiness of their subjects in extending their dominions; but it doth not set before our eyes the example of one sovereign who hath thought of restraining the limits of them. Would not this measure, however, have been as prudent as the other has been fatal, and may we not judge

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of the extent of empires, in the ſame manner as we do of the increaſe of population? A vaſt empire, and an immenſe population, may be two great evils. Let there be few men, but let them be happy; let the empire be ſmall, but well governed. The fate of ſmall ſtates is to be extended, and of large ones to be diſmembered.

THE increaſe of power, which moſt of the governments of Europe have flattered themſelves with, from their poſſeſſions in the New World, hath for too long a time engaged my attention, not to have induced me frequently to conſider within myſelf, or to inquire of men more enlightened, what idea it was proper to entertain of ſettlements formed at ſo much expence, and with ſo much labour, in another hemiſphere.

DOTH our real happineſs require the enjoyment of the things which we go in ſearch of at ſuch a diſtance? Is it our fate for ever to perſevere in ſuch factitious inclinations? Is man born eternally to wander between the ſky and the waters? Is he a bird of paſſage, or doth he reſemble other animals, whoſe moſt diſtant excurſions are exceedingly limited? Can the articles of commerce we derive from thence be an adequate compenſation for the loſs of the citizens who leave their country, to periſh, either by the diſorders with which they are attacked during their voyage, or by the climate at their arrival? At ſuch conſiderable diſtance, what influence can the laws of the mother-country have upon the ſubjects? and and how will their obedience to thoſe laws be enforced? Will not the abſence of the witneſſes, and

and judges of our actions, neceſſarily induce corruption in our manners, and occaſion in time the ſubverſion of the moſt wiſe inſtitutions, when virtue and juſtice, which are the baſis on which they are founded, ſhall no longer ſubſiſt? By what firm tie ſhall we ſecure a poſſeſſion, from which we are ſeparated by an immenſe interval? Hath the individual, who paſſes his whole life in voyages, any idea of the ſpirit of patriotiſm? and among all the countries he is obliged to traverſe, is there any one which he ſtill conſiders as his own? Can colonies intereſt themſelves to a certain degree in the misfortunes or proſperity of the mother-country? and can the mother-country be very ſincerely rejoiced or afflicted at the fate of the colonies? Do not the people feel a ſtrong propenſity, either of governing themſelves, or of giving themſelves up to the firſt power which hath ſtrength enough to get poſſeſſion of them? Are not the directors, ſent over to govern them, conſidered as tyrants, who would be deſtroyed, were it not for the reſpect borne to the perſon whom they repreſent? Is not this extenſion of empire contrary to nature? and muſt not every thing that is contrary to nature have an end?

Would the man be conſidered as bereft of underſtanding, who ſhould ſay to the nations: Your authority muſt either ceaſe on the other continent, or you muſt make it the center of your empire? This is the alternative you have to chuſe: You muſt either remain in this part of the world, and increaſe the proſperity of the

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land on which you are placed, and upon which you dwell; or if the other hemiſphere ſhould offer you more power, ſtrength, ſecurity, or happineſs, you muſt go and ſettle upon it. Convey to it your authority, and your arms, your manners and your laws will proſper there. Do ye think that your commands will be obeyed upon a ſpot where you do not reſide, when the abſence even of the maſter is always attended with ſome diſagreeable circumſtance in the narrow limits of his own family? The ſway of a monarch can only be eſtabliſhed in the kingdom where he dwells; and it is ſtill no eaſy matter to reign there with propriety. Wherefore, O ſovereign! haſt thou aſſembled numerous armies in the center of thy kingdom? Wherefore are thy palaces ſurrounded with guards? It is becauſe the perpetual threats of thy neighbours, the ſubmiſſion of thy people, and the ſecurity of thy ſacred perſon, require theſe precautions. Who will be reſponſible for the fidelity of your diſtant ſubjects? Your ſceptre cannot reach to thouſands of leagues, and your ſhips can but imperfectly ſupply this authority. This is the decree pronounced by fate upon your colonies: You muſt either renounce them, or they will renounce you. Conſider, that your power ceaſes of itſelf, beyond the natural limits of your own dominions.

THESE ideas, which begin to ariſe in the minds of men, would have excited them to revolt at the commencement of the ſeventeenth century. Every thing was then in commotion in moſt of the countries of Europe. The thoughts of all men were

were generally turned towards the concerns of the New World, and the French appeared as impatient as other nations to take a ſhare in them.

First expeditions of the French to the American iſlands.

EVER ſince the fatal cataſtrophe of the aſſaſſination of the beſt of their kings, that nation had been in perpetual confuſion, from the caprices of an intriguing queen, the oppreſſions of a rapacious foreigner, and the ſchemes of a weak-minded favourite. A deſpotic miniſter began to enſlave her; when ſome of her ſailors, excited as much by a deſire of independence, as by the allurement of riches, ſailed towards the Caribbee iſlands, in hopes of making themſelves maſters of the Spaniſh veſſels that frequented thoſe ſeas. Their courage had been ſucceſsful on many occaſions; but they were at laſt obliged, in order to refit, to ſeek for an aſylum, which they found at St. Chriſtopher's in 1625. This iſland appeared to them a proper place for ſecuring the ſucceſs of their expeditions, and they were therefore deſirous of procuring a ſettlement upon it. Deſnambuc, their chief, not only obtained leave to form an eſtabliſhment there, but likewiſe to extend it as far as he was either deſirous or was able to do, in the great Archipelago of America. Government required, for this permiſſion merely, without giving any aſſiſtance to the project, or encouraging it with any protection, the tenth part of the produce of every colony that might be founded.

The French iſlands are oppreſſed under excluſive privileges.

A COMPANY was formed in 1626, in order to reap the benefit of this conceſſion. Such was the cuſtom of thoſe times, when trade and navigation were yet in too weak a ſtate to be intruſted to pri-

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vate hands. This company obtained the greateſt privileges. The government gave them, for twenty years, the property of all the iſlands they ſhould cultivate, and impowered them to exact a hundred weight of tobacco, or fifty pounds of cotton, of every inhabitant from ſixteen to ſixty years of age. They were likewiſe to enjoy an excluſive right of buying and ſelling. A capital of forty-five thouſand livres * only, and which was never increaſed to three times that ſum, procured them all theſe advantages.

It ſeemed impoſſible to riſe to any degree of proſperity with ſuch inadequate means. Conſiderable numbers, however, of bold and enterpriſing men came from St. Chriſtopher's, who hoiſted the French flag in the neighbouring iſlands. Had the company, which excited this ſpirit of invaſion by a few privileges, acted upon a conſiſtent and rational plan, the ſtate muſt ſoon have reaped ſome benefit from this reſtleſs diſpoſition. But, unfortunately, an inordinate thirſt of gain rendered them unjuſt and cruel; a conſequence that ever has, and ever will attend a ſpirit of monopoly.

The Dutch, apprized of this tyranny, came and offered proviſions and merchandize on far more moderate terms, and made propoſals which were readily accepted. This laid the foundation of a connection between thoſe republicans and the coloniſts, that could never afterwards be broken; and formed a competition, not only fatal to the company in the New World, where it prevented

* 1,875 l.

the

the ſale of their cargoes, but even purſued them in all the markets of Europe, where the contraband traders underſold all the produce of the French iſlands. Diſcouraged by theſe deſerved diſappointments, the company ſunk into a total ſtate of inactivity, which deprived them of moſt of their emoluments, without leſſening any of their expences. In their deſpair, they gave up, in 1631, their charter to a new company, who in their turn ceded it alſo to another, in 1642. In vain did the miniſtry ſacrifice to the laſt company the duties they had reſerved to themſelves; this indulgence could not change the pernicious ſyſtem which had been hitherto the perpetual cauſe of all the calamities. A new revolution therefore ſoon became neceſſary. The exhauſted company, to prevent their total ruin, and that they might not ſink under the weight of their engagements, put their poſſeſſions up to auction: they were moſtly bought up by their reſpective governors.

In 1649, Boiſſeret purchaſed, for ſeventy-three thouſand livres *, Guadalupe, Marigalante, the iſland called *The Saints*, and all the effects belonging to the company on theſe ſeveral iſlands: he afterwards parted with half in favour of Houel, his brother-in-law. In 1650, Duparquet paid but ſixty thouſand livres † for Martinico, St. Lucia, Granada, and the Granadines. Seven years after, he ſold Granada and the Granadines to Count Cerillac, for one third more than he had given for

* 3,041 l. 13 s. 4 d. † 2,500 l.

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his whole purchaſe. In 1651, Malta purchaſed St. Chriſtopher's, St. Martin, St. Bartholomew, Santa Cruz, and Tortuga, for forty thouſand crowns *, which were paid by the commandant de Poincy, who governed thoſe iſlands. The knights of Malta were to hold them in fief of the crown, and were not allowed to intruſt any but a Frenchman with the adminiſtration of them.

The new poſſeſſors enjoyed an unlimited authority, and diſpoſed of the lands. All places, both civil and military, were in their gift. They had the right of pardoning thoſe whom their deputies condemned to death; in a word, they were ſo many petty ſovereigns. It was natural to expect, as their domains were under their own inſpection, that agriculture would make a rapid progreſs. This conjecture was in ſome meaſure realized, notwithſtanding the conteſts, which were neceſſarily ſharp and frequent under ſuch maſters. However, this ſecond ſtate of the French colonies did not prove more beneficial to the nation than the firſt. The Dutch continued to furniſh them with proviſions, and to carry away the produce, which they ſold indiſcriminately to all nations, even to that which ought to have reaped the ſole advantage of it, becauſe it was her own property.

The mother-country ſuffered conſiderably from this evil, and Colbert miſtook the means of redreſs. That great man, who had for ſome time preſided over the finances and trade of the kingdom, had begun upon a wrong plan. The habit of living

* 5,000l.

with

with the farmers of the revenue under the administration of Mazarin, had accuſtomed him to conſider money, which is but an inſtrument of circulation, as the ſource of every thing. He imagined that manufactures were the readieſt way to draw it from abroad; and that in the workſhops were to be found the beſt reſources of the ſtate, and in the tradeſmen the moſt uſeful ſubjects of the monarchy. To increaſe the number of theſe men, he thought it proper to keep the neceſſaries of life at a low price, and to diſcourage the exportation of corn. The production of materials was the leaſt object of his care, and he bent his whole attention to the manufacturing of them. This preference of induſtry to agriculture became the reigning taſte, and unfortunately this deſtructive ſyſtem ſtill prevails.

Had Colbert entertained juſt notions of the improvement of lands, of the encouragement it requires, and of the liberty the huſbandman muſt enjoy, he would have purſued, in 1664, a very different plan from that which he adopted. It is well know'n that he redeemed Guadalupe, and it's dependent iſlands, for one hundred and twenty-five thouſand livres *; Martinico for forty thouſand crowns †; Granada for a hundred thouſand livres ‡; and all the poſſeſſions of Malta for five hundred thouſand livres ‖. So far his conduct deſerved commendation: it was fit that he ſhould reſtore ſo many branches of ſovereignty to the body of the ſtate. But he ought never to have ſub-

* 5,208 l. 6 s. 8 d.
† 5,000 l.
‡ 4,166 l. 13 s. 4 d.
‖ 20,833 l. 6 s. 8 d.

mitted

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mitted poſſeſſions of ſuch importance to the oppreſſions of an excluſive company; a meaſure forbidden as much by paſt experience, as by reaſon. It is probable, that the miniſtry expected that a company, which was to be incorporated into thoſe of Africa, Cayenne, and North America, and intereſted in the trade that was beginning to be carried on upon the coaſts of St. Domingo, would obtain a ſtrong and permanent power, as well from the great connections it would have an opportunity of forming, as from the facility with which it might repair, in one part, the misfortunes it had ſuſtained in another. They thought to ſecure the future ſplendour of the company, by lending them the tenth part of the amount of their capital, free from intereſt for four years, by permitting the exportation of all proviſions duty-free into their ſettlements, and by prohibiting, as much as they could, the competition of the Dutch.

NOTWITHSTANDING all theſe favours, the company was never in any flouriſhing ſtate. The errors they fell into ſeemed to increaſe, in proportion to the number of conceſſions that had been injudiciouſly granted to them. The knavery of their agents, the dejection of the coloniſts, the devaſtations of war, with other cauſes, concurred to throw their affairs into the utmoſt confuſion. Their ruin was advancing, and appeared inevitable in 1674, when the ſtate judged it proper to pay off their debts, which amounted to three millions five hundred and twenty-three thouſand livres,

livres *, and to reimburſe them their capital of one million two hundred eighty-ſeven thouſand one hundred and eighty-five livres †. Theſe generous terms reſtored to the body of the ſtate thoſe valuable poſſeſſions which had been hitherto, as it were, alienated from it. The colonies became entirely French, and all the citizens, without diſtinction, were at liberty to go and ſettle there, or to open a communication with them.

The French iſlands recover their liberty. Obſtacles which prevent their ſucceſs.

It would be difficult to expreſs the tranſports of joy which this event excited in the iſlands. They were now freed from the chains under which they had ſo long been oppreſſed, and nothing ſeemed capable of abating, for the future, the active ſpirit of labour and induſtry. Every individual gave a full ſcope to his ambition, and thought himſelf at the eve of making an immenſe fortune. If they were deceived in theſe expectations, this cannot be attributed either to their preſumption or their indolence. Their hopes were very natural, and their whole conduct was ſuch as juſtified and confirmed them. Unfortunately, the prejudices of the mother-country threw inſurmountable difficulties in their way.

First, it was required, even in the iſlands, that every free man, and every ſlave of either ſex, ſhould pay an annual poll-tax of a hundred weight of raw ſugar. It was in vain urged, that the condition impoſed upon the colonies, to trade only with the mother-country, was of itſelf a ſufficient

* 146,791 l. 13 s. 4 d. † 53,632 l. 14 s. 2 d.

hardſhip,

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hardſhip, and a reaſon why they ſhould be exempted from all other taxes. Theſe repreſentations were not attended to, as they ought to have been. Whether from neceſſity, or from ignorance on the part of government, thoſe cultivators who ought to have been aſſiſted with loans without intereſt, or with gratuities, ſaw part of their harveſt collected by greedy farmers of the revenue; which, had it been returned into their own fertile fields, would gradually have increaſed their produce.

While the iſlands were thus deprived of part of their produce, the ſpirit of monopoly was taking effectual meaſures in France to reduce the price of what was left them. The privilege of buying it up, was limited to a few ſea-ports. This was a manifeſt infringement of the eſſential rights veſted in the other harbours of the kingdom; but to the colonies it proved a very unfortunate reſtriction, becauſe it leſſened the number of buyers and ſellers on the coaſts.

To this diſadvantage another ſoon ſucceeded. The miniſtry had endeavoured to exclude all foreign veſſels from thoſe diſtant poſſeſſions, and had ſucceeded, becauſe they were in earneſt. Theſe navigators obtained, from motives of intereſt, the privilege that was denied them by the laws. They purchaſed of the French merchants paſſes to go to the colonies, where they took in their ladings, and carried them directly to their own country. This diſhoneſty might have been puniſhed and ſuppreſſed by a variety of methods; but the moſt deſtructive one was adopted. All

ſhips

ſhips were required to give in their return, not only at home, but likewiſe at the ports from whence they had ſailed. This reſtraint neceſſarily occaſioned a conſiderable expence to no purpoſe, and could not fail of enhancing the price of American commodities.

THEIR increaſe was alſo checked by the duties with which they were overladen; tobacco was ſubjected to a duty of 20 ſols * per pound. The uſe of indigo was at firſt prohibited in the dyes of the kingdom, under a pretence that it ſpoiled them, and that it would be prejudicial to one of the cultures of the mother-country. But when the moſt obſtinate perſons had been convinced by repeated experiments, that indigo, when mixed with paſtel, or even when uſed alone, rendered the colours more beautiful and more laſting, government confined itſelf to the loading of it with taxes. They were ſo heavy as to render the exportation of it impoſſible. It was not till 1693, that the tax was taken off the indigo, which was intended for foreigners.

THE cacao was taken out of the hands of monopoly, only to be ſubjected, in 1693, to a duty of 15 ſols † per pound, although it was ſold for no more than 5 ſols ‡ in the colonies. It's introduction in the kingdom was at firſt allowed only by Rouen and Marſeilles, and by this latter port alone, ſince the pretended liberty granted to it.

* 10 d. † 7½ d. ‡ 2½ d.

COTTON,

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COTTON, which had at firſt eſcaped the rigours of the treaſury, was taxed 3 livres * per hundred weight in 1664. It was to no purpoſe that half of this impoſt was taken off in 1691. This modification could not renew the plants that had been extirpated.

THE conſumption of ginger, which hath ſome of the qualities of pepper, and which might eaſily be uſed as a ſuccedaneum, ought to have been encouraged. A ſtop was put to it by a duty of 6 livres † per quintal. It was afterwards reduced to 15 ſols ‡; but at that period, the loweſt claſs of citizens had contracted a diſlike for that ſpice, which it was impoſſible to conquer.

THE American caſſia was purchaſed in France for one quarter of the price that was paid for that of the Levant. If a proper analyſis had been made of it, it would have diſpelled the prejudices which were the cauſe of this enormous difference in the price. But government never thought of any expedient which might tend to increaſe the riches of their poſſeſſions.

SUGAR was the richeſt production of the iſlands till 1669, the direct exportation of it into all the ports of Europe had been allowed, as well as that of all the proviſions of the colonies. At this period it was ordered, that it ſhould be only depoſited in the harbours of the kingdom. This arrangement neceſſarily enhanced it's price, and foreigners, who could purchaſe it at a cheaper rate in other parts, contracted the habit of going

* 2 s. 6 d. † 5 s. ‡ 7½ d.

there

there in ſearch of it. The reſolution, however, that was taken of liberating the ſugar from the duty of 3 per cent. which it had paid on it's arrival, was the means of preſerving ſome purchaſers. A freſh miſtake completed the ruin of this branch of trade.

THE refiners, in 1682, petitioned that the exportation of raw ſugar might be prohibited; in which they ſeemed to be influenced merely by public good. They alleged that it was repugnant to all ſound principles, that the original produce ſhould be ſent away to ſupport foreign manufactures, and that the ſtate ſhould voluntarily deprive itſelf of the profits of ſo valuable a labour. This plauſible reaſoning made too great an impreſſion on Colbert; and the conſequence of it was, that the refining of ſugar was kept up at the ſame exorbitant price, and the art itſelf never received any improvement. This was not approved by the people who conſumed this article: the French ſugar-trade ſank, and that of the rival nations was viſibly increaſed.

SOME of the coloniſts, obſerving that the ſyſtem was not dropped notwithſtanding this fatal experiment, ſolicited leave to fine their own ſugars. They were ſupplied with ſo many conveniences to go through this proceſs at a trifling expence, that they flattered themſelves they might ſoon recover that preference they had loſt in the foreign markets. This change was more than probable, had not every hundred weight of refined ſugar they ſent home been clogged with a duty of eight

livres

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livres * on entering the kingdom. All that could be done, notwithſtanding this heavy impoſition, was to ſupport the competition of the French refiners reſiding in the kingdom. The produce of the ſugar-houſes in France, and of thoſe in the colonies, were entirely conſumed within the empire; and thus an important branch of trade was given up, rather than it would be acknowleged, that a miſtake had been committed in prohibiting the exportation of raw ſugars.

From this period the colonies, which ſupplied twenty-ſeven millions weight of ſugar, could not diſpoſe of the whole of it in the mother-country, which conſumed but twenty millions. As the conſumption of it decreaſed, no more was cultivated than was abſolutely neceſſary. This medium could only be ſettled in proceſs of time; and, before this was effected, the commodity fell to an exceeding low price. This decreaſe in the value, which was alſo owen to the negligent manner of making it, was ſo great, that raw ſugar, which ſold for fourteen or fifteen livres † *per* hundred in 1682, fetched no more than five or ſix ‡ in 1713.

The low price of the ſtaple commodity would have made it impoſſible for the coloniſts to increaſe the number of their ſlaves, even if the government, by it's conduct, had not contributed to this misfortune. The Negro trade was always in the hands of excluſive companies, who im-

* 6 s. 8 d. † From 11 s. 8 d. to 12 s. 6 d.
‡ From 4 s. 2 d. to 5 s.

ported

ported but few, in order to be certain of selling them at a better price. We have good authority to assert, that in 1698 there were not twenty thousand Negroes in those numerous settlements; and it may safely be affirmed, that most of these had been brought in by contraband traders. Fifty-four ships of a moderate size were sufficient to bring over the whole produce of these colonies.

The French islands could not but sink under so many difficulties. If the inhabitants did not forsake them, and carry the fruit of their industry to other places, their perseverance must be attributed to resources that did not depend upon administration. When some production was oppressed, the planter turned his attention suddenly to another, which had not yet attracted the notice of the treasury, or which they were apprehensive of crushing in it's infancy. The coasts were never sufficiently guarded to prevent all the connections formed with foreign navigators. The plunders of the free-booters were sometimes converted into advances for culture. At length the propensity which was daily increasing in the Old World for the productions of the New, greatly encouraged the multiplication of them. These means, however, would never have been sufficient to raise the French colonies from their state of languor. A great revolution was necessary, and it was brought about in 1716.

Measures adopted by the court of Versailles, to render their colonies useful.

At this period, a plain and simple regulation was substituted in lieu of a multitude of equivocal orders, which rapacious officers of the revenue had,

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from time to time, extorted from the wants and weakneſs of government. The merchandize deſtined for the colonies was exempted from all taxes. The duties upon American commodities deſigned for home-conſumption were greatly lowered. The goods brought over for exportation were to be entered and cleared out freely, upon paying three *per cent*. The duties laid upon foreign ſugars were to be levied every where alike, without any regard to particular immunities, except in caſes of re-exportation in the ports of Bayonne and Marſeilles.

In granting ſo many favours to her remote poſſeſſions, the mother-country was not unmindful of her own intereſts. All merchandize prohibited at home, was alſo forbidden in the colonies. To ſecure the preference to it's own manufactures, it was enacted, that even ſuch commodities as were not prohibted ſhould pay duty on their entry into France, although they were deſtined for the colonies. Salt beef alone, which the mother-country could not furniſh in competition, was exempted from this duty.

This regulation would have been as beneficial a one as the times would admit of, if the edict had allowed that the trade from America, which till then had been confined to a few ſea-ports, ſhould be general; and if it had releaſed ſhips from the neceſſity of returning to the place from whence they came. Theſe reſtraints limited the number of ſeamen, raiſed the expences of navigation, and prevented the exportation of the productions of the country. The perſons who

were then at the head of affairs ought to have been ſenſible of theſe inconveniencies, and no doubt intended one day to reſtore to trade that freedom and ſpirit which alone can make it flouriſh. They were probably forced to ſacrifice their own views to the clamours of men in power, who openly diſapproved of whatever oppoſed their own intereſt.

NOTWITHSTANDING this weakneſs, the coloniſts, who had reluctantly given up the hopes of an excellent ſoil, beſtowed their utmoſt induſtry upon it, as ſoon as they were allowed that liberty. Their ſucceſs aſtoniſhed all nations. If government, on the arrival of the French in the New World, had only foreſeen, what they learned from experience a century later, the ſtate might ſoon have enjoyed, from the advantages of cultivation, that wealth which would have added more to it's proſperity than conqueſts; it would not then have been as much ruined by it's victories as by it's defeats. Thoſe prudent miniſters, who repaired the loſſes of war by a happy revolution in trade, would not have had the mortification to ſee that Santa Cruz was evacuated in 1696, and St. Chriſtopher's given up at the peace of Utrecht. Their concern would have been greatly heightened, could they have foreſeen that in 1763 the French would be reduced to deliver up the Granades to the Engliſh. Strange infatuation of the ambition of nations, or rather of kings! After ſacrificing thouſands of lives to acquire and to preſerve a remote poſſeſſion, a greater number muſt ſtill be laviſhed to loſe it.

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Yet France has ſome important colonies left: let us begin with Guiana, which lies to windward of all the reſt.

Notions concerning Guiana. Motives which induced the Europeans to frequent it.

THE people, who roved about this vaſt tract, before the arrival of the Europeans, were divided into ſeveral nations, none of which were very numerous. Their manners were the ſame as thoſe of the ſavages of the ſouthern continent. The Caribs only, who from their numbers and courage were more turbulent than the reſt, diſtinguiſhed themſelves by a remarkable cuſtom in the choice of their chiefs. To be qualified to govern ſuch a people, it was neceſſary a man ſhould have more ſtrength, more intrepidity, and more knowlege, than the reſt of his brethren; and that he ſhould give evident and public proofs of theſe ſuperior qualifications.

THE man, who aſpired to the honour of commanding his brethren, was previouſly to be well acquainted with all the places fit for hunting and fiſhing, and with all the ſprings and roads. He was obliged to endure long and ſevere faſts; and was afterwards expoſed to carry burdens of an enormous weight. He uſed to paſs ſeveral nights as a centinel, at the entrance of the carbet or principal hut. He was buried up to the waiſt in an ant's neſt, where he remained for a conſiderable time expoſed to ſharp and bloody ſtings. If in all theſe ſituations he ſhewed a ſtrength and fortitude fit to ſupport the dangers and hardſhips incident to the lives of ſavages; if he was one who could endure every thing, and fear nothing; he was declared fit to be their chief. He withdrew,

drew, however, as if conſcious of what his intended dignity required, and concealed himſelf under thick buſhes. The people went out to ſeek him in a retreat, which made him more deſerving of the poſt he ſeemed to decline. Each of the aſſiſtants trod upon his head, to ſhew him, that, being raiſed from the duſt by his equals, it was in their power to ſink him into it again, if ever he ſhould be forgetful of the duties of his ſtation. Such was the ceremony of his coronation. Here we behold ſavages who had juſter notions of ſovereignty, and were better acquainted with their privileges, than moſt civilized nations are. After this political leſſon, all the bows and arrows were throw'n at his feet; and the nation was obedient to his laws, or rather to his example.

SUCH were the inhabitants of Guiana, when the Spaniard Alphonſo de Ojeda firſt landed there in 1499, with Americus Veſpucius and John de la Coſa. He went over a part of it; but this expedition afforded him only a ſuperficial knowlege of ſo vaſt a country. Many others were undertaken at a greater expence, but they proved ſtill more unſucceſsful. They were, however, ſtill continued, from a motive which ever did and ever will deceive mankind.

A REPORT had prevailed, though it's origin could not be diſcovered, that, in the interior parts of Guiana, there was a country know'n by the name of *El Dorado*, which contained immenſe riches in gold and precious ſtones; more mines and treaſures than ever Cortez and Pizarro had found. This fable not only inflamed the ardent

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imagination of the Spaniards, but fired every nation in Europe.

Sir Walter Raleigh in particular, one of the moſt extraordinary men that ever appeared in a country abounding in ſingular characters, was ſeized with this enthuſiaſm. He was paſſionately fond of every thing that was magnificent; he enjoyed a reputation ſuperior to that of the greateſt men; he had more knowlege than thoſe whoſe immediate purſuit was learning; he poſſeſſed a freedom of thinking uncommon in thoſe days; and had a kind of romantic turn in his ſentiments and behaviour. This determined him, in 1595, to undertake a voyage to Guiana; but he returned without diſcovering any thing relative to the object of his voyage. On his return, however, he publiſhed an account, full of the moſt brilliant impoſtures that ever amuſed the credulity of mankind.

So ſplendid a teſtimony, determined ſome Frenchmen, in 1604, to ſail towards thoſe countries under the direction of la Ravardiere. Other adventurers of their nation ſoon followed their example. They all ſubmitted to incredible fatigues. At length ſome of them, rather diſcouraged by the infinite labours they underwent, than undeceived in their expectations, ſettled on the iſland of Cayenne.

The French ſettle in Guiana, and languiſh there during a century.

Some merchants of Rouen, thinking that this riſing ſettlement might prove advantageous, united their ſtock in 1643. They intruſted their affairs in the hands of a man of a ferocious diſpoſition, named Poncet de Bretigny, who, having declared

ed war both againſt the coloniſts and the ſavages, was ſoon maſſacred.

THIS cataſtrophe having checked the ardour of the aſſociates, a new company was eſtabliſhed in 1651, which ſeemed to promiſe to be much more conſiderable than the former. They ſet out with ſo large a capital as to enable them to collect, in Paris itſelf, ſeven or eight hundred coloniſts. Theſe embarked on the Seine, in order to ſail down to Havre de Grace. Unfortunately, the virtuous Abbé de Marivault, who was the principal promoter of this undertaking, and was to have had the management of it as director-general, was drowned as he was ſtepping into his boat. Roiville, a gentleman of Normandy, who was going over to Cayenne as general, was aſſaſſinated in the paſſage. Twelve of the principal adventurers, who were the perpetrators of this act, and had undertaken to put the colony into a flouriſhing condition, behaved there in as atrocious a manner as might be expected from ſo horrid a beginning. They hanged one of their own number; two died; three were baniſhed to a deſart iſland; the reſt abandoned themſelves to every kind of exceſs. The commandant of the citadel deſerted to the Dutch, with part of his garriſon. The remainder, that had eſcaped hunger, poverty, and the fury of the ſavages, which had been rouzed by numberleſs provocations, thought themſelves happy in being able to get over to the Leeward Iſlands in a boat and two canoes. They abandoned the fort, ammunition, arms, and merchandize, with five or ſix hundred dead bodies of

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their wretched companions, fifteen months after they had landed on the iſland.

A NEW company was formed in 1663, under the direction of La Barre, maſter of requeſts. Their capital was no more than two hundred thouſand livres *. The aſſiſtance, they obtained from the miniſtry, enabled them to expel the Dutch, who, under the conduct of Spranger, had taken poſſeſſion of the lands granted to them, after they had been evacuated by the firſt poſſeſſors. A year after, this inconſiderable body made a part of the great company, to which were united all thoſe that the nation had formed for Africa and the New World. In 1667, Cayenne was inſulted, pillaged, and abandoned by the Engliſh; the coloniſts, who had fled from it, took poſſeſſion of it again; and it was again taken from them in 1672 by the ſubjects of the United Provinces, who could not keep it longer than to the year 1676. At this period they were driven out by the Marſhal D'Etrées; but the colony hath not been attacked ſince.

THIS ſettlement, ſo often overturned, had but juſt begun to be re-eſtabliſhed, and to enjoy ſome tranquillity, when great hopes were entertained of it's ſucceſs. Some pirates, laden with ſpoils they had gathered in the South Seas, came and fixed there; and, what was of greater conſequence, reſolved to employ their treaſures in the cultivation of the lands. It was probable that their plan would be proſecuted with vigour, becauſe their

* 8,333 l. 6 s. 8 d.

means

means were great; when Ducaſſe propoſed to them in 1688 the plundering of Surinam. This excited their natural turn for plunder; the new coloniſts became pirates again, and almoſt all the inhabitants followed their example.

THE expedition proved unfortunate. Some of the beſiegers fell in the attack; the reſt were taken priſoners, and ſent to the Caribbee Iſlands, where they ſettled. The colony has never recovered this loſs. Far from extending into Guiana, it has never been in a proſperous ſtate at Cayenne.

THIS iſland, which is only parted from the continent by one river, which is divided into two branches, may be about fourteen or fifteen leagues in circumference. By a particular formation, very rarely to be met with in iſlands, the land is high near the water ſide, and low in the middle. Hence it is interſected with ſo many moraſſes, that all communication is almoſt impracticable. The only town in the colony is built in a plain of two miles in extent, where navigable canals might have been made with eaſe, though care hath not even been taken to drain the waters from it. This village conſiſts of a number of barracks, heaped upon one another without order or convenience, where fevers are rather frequent in ſummer, notwithſtanding the boaſted ſalubrity of the ſpot. It is defended by a covered way, a large ditch, a mud rampart, and five baſtions. In the middle of the town is rather a conſiderable eminence, of which a redoubt has been made, that is called the fort, where forty men might be able to capitulate after the place had been taken.

The

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The entrance into the harbour hath not much more than thirteen feet water. The ſhips might touch the ground at fourteen feet, but fortunately the mud is ſoft, and the keel may be driven into it without danger.

THE firſt productions of Cayenne were, the arnotto, cotton, and ſugar. It was the firſt of all the French colonies that cultivated coffee; which was brought thither, as it hath always been, and perhaps is ſtill believed, in 1721 by ſome deſerters, who purchaſed their pardon by conveying it from Surinam, where they had taken refuge. An accurate hiſtorian, hath lately affirmed, probably from authentic information, that this plant was a preſent of M. de la Motte Aigron, who, in 1722, had the dexterity to bring away from this Dutch ſettlement, ſome freſh coffee berries, notwithſtanding the ſtrict prohibition there is againſt exporting any of them in the pods. Ten or twelve years after, cocoa was planted.

IN 1752, 260,541 pounds weight of arnotto, 80,363 pounds of ſugar, 17,919 pounds of cotton, 26,881 pounds of coffee, 91,916 pounds of cocoa, and 618 trees for timber, were exported from the colony. All theſe articles were the reſult of the labour of ninety French families, a hundred and twenty-five Indians, and fifteen hundred blacks; which made up the whole of the colony.

The court of Verſailles intend to render Guiana flouriſhing. Inquiry whether this plan

SUCH, and weaker ſtill, was the ſtate of Cayenne, when, in 1763, the court of Verſailles endeavoured to render it extremely flouriſhing, by a ſyſtem which occaſioned a general aſtoniſhment. The French had then juſt emerged from the horrors of

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an unſucceſsful war. The ſituation of affairs had determined the miniſtry to purchaſe peace with the ceſſion of ſeveral important colonies. It appeared equally neceſſary to make the nation forget her diſtreſſes, and the errors that had been the cauſe of them. The proſpect of better fortune might amuſe the people, and ſilence their clamours; while their attention was removed from poſſeſſions the nation had loſt, and turned towards Guiana, which, it was pretended, would compenſate all their misfortunes.

was a judicious one, and whether it was prudently executed.

This was not the opinion of the citizens who appeared to be the beſt informed of the ſituation of things. A ſettlement formed a century and a half before, at a period when the minds of men were impetuouſly urged to great undertakings; a ſettlement, the labours of which had not been ruined by civil diſcords, nor by foreign wars; a ſettlement, which had been ruled by prudent directors, with attention and diſintereſtedneſs; a ſettlement, which had always experienced the favours of government and the aſſiſtance of trade; a ſettlement, where there was a conſtant and certain mart for the productions; yet, with all theſe advantages, this ſettlement was of no conſequence. No plantation had ever been ſeen to flouriſh; no fortune had ever been raiſed in it. Miſery and obſcurity had obſtinately attended at thoſe periods, when the other French poſſeſſions in America aſtoniſhed the Old and the New World by their ſplendour and by their riches. It's fate, far from being amended by time and by the advancement of knowlege, was become daily more unfortunate.

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unfortunate. How therefore could it poſſibly fulfil the important deſtiny that was prepared for it? Theſe conſiderations did not reſtrain the miniſtry. Let us hear what hath been ſaid in juſtification of their views.

AMERICA, when it was firſt invaded by Europe, exhibited to it two regions entirely different from each other, the torrid zone, and the temperate zone of the North. The firſt preſented to the thirſt of gold, innumerable objects of gratification; various allurements to cupidity, to idleneſs, repoſe; to voluptuouſneſs it's incitement; to luxury it's reſources. That nation, which firſt took poſſeſſion of it, muſt have dazzled by it's ſplendour, and ſeduced men by the image of it's happineſs. An opulence as ſtriking as it was rapid, could not fail of giving it in the Old World an influence ſo much the more extenſive, as the nature of true riches was unknow'n there, and as it's rivals found themſelves ſuddenly plunged into a ſtate of relative indigence, as inſupportable as that which is real. It's new domain was the country calculated for deſpotiſm. The heat prevailing there exhauſted the ſtrength of the body; and indolence, the neceſſary conſequence of a fertility which ſupplies all wants without labour, deprived the ſoul of all it's energy. This country ſubmitted to it's deſtiny. The people who inhabited it were ſlaves who waited for a maſter; he came, and ordered them to obey, and his commands were reſpected. The ſpirit of abſolute monarchy was a production of the ſoil, which he found already formed there; but he alſo found

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an impending enemy to which nothing can reſiſt, and which, in it's turn, muſt neceſſarily ſubdue him; this was the climate. In the firſt intoxication of conqueſt, the uſurper formed the moſt extenſive projects, and conceived hopes apparently the beſt founded. He conſidered the ſign of wealth as the plaſtic and preſerving principle of political ſtrength; and how is it poſſible that he ſhould not have been deceived in this particular? If we have got rid of this prejudice, it is perhaps to the diſaſters of that power that we owe this great leſſon. They imagined, that with gold they could keep the nations in their pay, as they kept the Negroes in their chains; and never conſidered that this gold, which procured them jealous allies, would turn them into ſo many powerful adverſaries; who, uniting their arms with the riches they received, would make uſe of this double power to effect their ruin.

The temperate zone of North America could only attract free and laborious people. It furniſhes no productions but what are common and neceſſary; and which, for that very reaſon, are a conſtant ſource of wealth and ſtrength. It favours population, by ſupplying materials for that quiet and peaceful ſpecies of huſbandry which fixes and multiplies families; and, as it does not excite inordinate deſires, is a ſecurity againſt invaſion. It reaches through an immenſe continent, and preſents a large extent of country, on every ſide, open to navigation. It's coaſts are waſhed by a ſea which is generally navigable, and abounds with harbours. The coloniſts are not at ſo great a diſtance from the

the mother-country; they live in a climate more analogous to their own; and in a ſituation that is fit for hunting, fiſhing, huſbandry, and for all the manly exerciſes and labours which improve the ſtrength of the body, and are preſervatives againſt the vices that taint the mind. Thus, in America, as in Europe, the North will have the ſuperiority over the South. The one will be covered with inhabitants and plantations: while the other will laviſh it's voluptuous liquors, and it's golden mines. The one will be able to civilize the ſavage nations by it's intercourſe with a free people; the other will only produce a monſtrous mixture of a race of ſlaves with a nation of tyrants, which can never acquire any degree of ſtrength.

It was of great importance to the ſouthern colonies to have their reſources for population and ſtrength in the North, where they might exchange the commodities of luxury for thoſe of neceſſity, and keep open a communication that might afford them ſuccours if they were attacked; a retreat in caſe they were defeated, and a ſupply of land-forces to balance the weakneſs of their naval reſources.

Before the laſt war, the French ſouthern colonies enjoyed this advantage. Canada, by it's ſituation, the warlike genius of it's inhabitants, their alliances with the Indian nations in friendſhip with the French, and fond of the frankneſs and freedom of their manners, might balance, or at leaſt give umbrage to New England. The loſs of that great continent determined the French miniſtry to ſeek for

for ſupport from another. Guiana was thought a very proper ſituation for this purpoſe, if a free and national population could be eſtabliſhed there, which might be able to reſiſt foreign attacks, and, in courſe of time, to furniſh a ſpeedy aſſiſtance to the other colonies, when circumſtances might require it.

Such was evidently the ſyſtem of the miniſter. It never occurred to him, that a part of the world, thus inhabited, could never enrich the mother-country by the produce of ſuch commodities as are peculiar to the ſouthern colonies. He was too intelligent not to know, that there is no ſuch thing as ſelling, without complying with the general run of the market; and that this cannot be done but by producing ſaleable commodities at the ſame rate as other nations can afford them; and that labours, executed by free men, muſt of neceſſity bear a much higher price than thoſe that are exacted from ſlaves.

The meaſures were directed by an active miniſter. As a wiſe politician, who does not ſacrifice ſafety to wealth, he only propoſed to raiſe a bulwark to protect the French poſſeſſions. As a philoſopher, who feels for his fellow-creatures, who knows and reſpects the rights of humanity, he wiſhed to people theſe fertile but deſert regions with free men. But genius, eſpecially when too impatient of ſucceſs, cannot foreſee every circumſtance. The miſtake proceeded from ſuppoſing, that Europeans would be able to undergo the fatigues of preparing lands for cultivation under the torrid zone; and that men, who

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quitted their own country only in hopes of living with greater ſatisfaction in another, would accommodate themſelves to the precarious ſubſiſtence of a ſavage life, in a worſe climate than that which they had left.

This bad ſyſtem, which the government was draw'n into by a ſet of enterpriſing men, who were either miſled by their preſumption, or who ſacrificed the public good to their own private views, was as extravagantly executed, as it had been inconſiderately adopted. Every thing was blended together, without any principle of legiſlation, and without conſidering in what manner Nature had adapted the ſeveral lands to the men who were to inhabit them. The inhabitants were divided into two claſſes, the proprietors and the mercenaries. It was not conſidered that this diviſion, at preſent eſtabliſhed in Europe, and in moſt civilized nations, was the conſequence of wars, of revolutions, and of the numberleſs chances which time produces; that it was the effect of the progreſs of civilization, not the baſis and foundation of ſociety, which in it's origin requires that all it's members ſhould have ſome property. Colonies, which are new populations and new ſocieties, ought to adhere to this fundamental rule. It was broken through at the very firſt eſtabliſhment of the colony, by allotting lands in Guiana to thoſe only who were able to advance a certain fund for the cultivation of them. Others, whoſe deſires were tempted with uncertain hopes, were excluded from this diviſion of lands. This was an error equally contrary to ſound policy and humanity.

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Had a portion of land been given to every new inhabitant that was ſent over to this barren and deſert country, each perſon would have cultivated his own ſpot, in proportion to his ſtrength or abilities; one, by the means his money would have afforded him; another, by his own labour. It was neceſſary that thoſe, who were poſſeſſed of a capital, ſhould neither be diſcouraged, becauſe they were men of great importance to a riſing colony; nor that they ſhould have an excluſive preference given them, leſt it ſhould prevent them from having aſſiſtants who might be willing to be dependent on them. It was alſo indiſpenſibly neceſſary, that every member of the new colony ſhould be offered ſome property, with which he might employ his labour, his induſtry, his money, in a word, his greater or leſs powers to his advantage. It ought to have been foreſeen, that Europeans, in whatever ſituation they were, would not quit their own country, but with the hopes of improving their fortune; and that deceiving their hopes and confidence in this reſpect, would be an effectual way to ruin the colony intended to be eſtabliſhed.

Men, who are tranſplanted into uncultivated regions, are ſurrounded with wants of every kind; the beſt-directed, and moſt continued labours, cannot prevent thoſe, who go into thoſe deſerts to clear the lands, from being deprived of every reſource, 'till the period, more or leſs diſtant, of the harveſt arrives. Accordingly, the court of Verſailles, by whom ſo ſtriking a truth could not be unnoticed, engaged to ſupport, indiſcriminate-

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ly, all the Germans, and all the French, who were intended to eſtabliſh the population of Guiana. But this, though an act of juſtice, was not an act of prudence. It ought to have been foreſeen, that the proviſions would be ill-choſen by the agents of government. It ought to have been foreſeen, that if they had even been choſen with zeal, prudence, and diſintereſtedneſs, moſt of them muſt unavoidably have been ſpoiled, either in the paſſage, or on their arrival. It ought to have been foreſeen, that ſalt meats, either well or ill preſerved, would never be a proper food for unfortunate refugees, who had forſaken a wholeſome and temperate climate, to live among the burning ſands of the torrid zone, and to breathe the damp and rainy air of the tropics.

A JUDICIOUS plan of policy ought to have attended to the multiplication of cattle, before it had thought of ſettling men there. This precaution would not only have inſured a wholeſome ſubſiſtence to the firſt coloniſts, it would likewiſe have ſupplied them with convenient inſtruments for the undertakings which are required in the formation of a new colony. With this aſſiſtance, they would have thought nothing of labours, which the miniſtry would have undertaken to pay liberally, and would have prepared habitations and proviſions for thoſe who were to come after them. By purſuing ſuch meaſures, which could not require any depth of thought, the ſettlement which it was intended to form, would have acquired, in a ſhort time, the conſiſtence of which it was ſuſceptible.

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THESE very plain and natural reflections were never ſuggeſted. Twelve thouſand men, after a tedious voyage, were landed upon dreary and inhoſpitable ſhores. It is well know'n, that, almoſt throughout the torrid zone, the year is divided into two ſeaſons, the dry and the rainy. In Guiana, ſuch heavy rains fall, from the beginning of November to the end of May, that the lands are either overflowed, or at leaſt unfit for tillage. Had the new coloniſts arrived there in the beginning of the dry ſeaſon, and been placed on the lands deſtined for them, they would have had time to put their habitations in order, to cut down or burn the woods, and to plough and ſow their fields.

FOR want of theſe precautions, they knew not where to beſtow ſuch multitudes of people as were conſtantly pouring in juſt at the rainy ſeaſon. The iſland of Cayenne might have been a proper place for the reception and refreſhment of the new-comers, 'till they could have been diſpoſed of; there they might have found lodging and aſſiſtance. But the falſe opinion which prevailed, that the new colony muſt not be intermixed with the old, deprived them of this reſource. In conſequence of this prejudice, twelve thouſand unfortunate men were landed on the iſlands *du Salut*, or on the banks of the Kourou, and were placed under tents, or under miſerable ſheds. In this ſituation, totally inactive, weary of exiſtence, and in want of all neceſſaries, expoſed to contagious diſtempers, which are always occaſioned by tainted proviſions, and to all the irregularities

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which idleneſs neceſſarily produces among men of the loweſt claſs, removed far from their native country, and placed under a foreign ſky; they ended their wretched life in all the horrors of deſpair. Their fate will ever call aloud for vengence on thoſe who either invented, or promoted ſo deſtructive a ſcheme, to which ſo many victims were ſacrificed; as if the devaſtations of war, which they were intended to repair, had not ſwept away a ſufficient number in the courſe of eight years.

That nothing might be wanting to complete this diſaſter, and that 25,000,000 of livres *, employed in the ſucceſs of this abſurd ſyſtem, might be entirely loſt, the man who was commiſſioned to put an end to theſe various calamities, thought proper to bring back into Europe two thouſand men, whoſe robuſt conſtitution had reſiſted the inclemency of the climate, and had enabled them to ſupport greater miſeries than are to be deſcribed.

The ſtate hath fortunately had ſufficient ſtrength to bear theſe heavy loſſes. But how dreadful is it for our country, for the ſubjects, for every man who is intereſted in the lives of his fellow-citizens, to ſee them thus laviſhed upon ruinous enterprizes, by an abſurd jealouſy of authority, which enjoins the moſt rigorous ſecrecy upon all public tranſactions. Is it not then the intereſt of the whole nation, that her rulers ſhould be well informed? And how can they be ſo, but from

* 1,041,666l. 13s. 4d.

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collecting general information? Why ſhould projects, of which the people are to be both the object and the inſtrument, be concealed from them? Can the will be commanded without the judgment, or can we inſpire courage without confidence? The only true information is to be obtained from public writings, where truth appears undiſguiſed, and falſehood fears to be detected. Secret memoirs, private ſchemes, are commonly the work of artful and intereſted men, who inſinuate themſelves into the cabinets of perſons in adminiſtration, by dark, oblique, and indirect ways. When a prince or a miniſter has acted according to the opinion of the public, or of enlightened men, if he be unfortunate, he cannot on any account be blamed. But, when enterprizes are undertaken without the advice, or againſt the ſenſe of the people; when events are brought on unknow'n to thoſe whoſe lives and fortunes are expoſed by them; what can this be but a ſecret league, a combination of a few individuals againſt ſociety in general? Can it be poſſible, that authority ſhould think itſelf degraded by an intercourſe with the citizens? Or will men in power for ever treat the reſt of mankind with ſo great a degree of contempt, as not even to deſire that the injuries they have done them ſhould be forgiven?

What has been the conſequence of that cataſtrophe, in which ſo many ſubjects, ſo many foreigners, have been ſacrificed to the illuſions of the French miniſtry with reſpect to Guiana? This unhappy climate has been inveighed againſt

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with all the rancour with which reſentment and misfortune can aggravate it's real evils. Fortunately, the obſervations of a few enlightened men enable us to clear up this confuſion.

Idea that muſt be formed of the coaſts and of the ſoil of Guiana.

THIS vaſt country, which was decorated with the magnificent title of Equinoctial France, is not the ſole property of the court of Verſailles, as they formerly pretended. The Dutch, by ſettling to the North, and the Portugueze to the South, have confined the French between the rivers of Marony and Vincent Pinçon, or Oyapock, which interval ſtill forms a ſpace of more than a hundred leagues.

THE ſeas which water this long extent of coaſt, are ſafe, open, and free from any obſtacle which might impede navigation. There are only the iſlands *du Salut*, at three leagues diſtance from the continent, to be ſeen in them. As they are divided only by a channel of fourſcore toiſes, they might be eaſily united, and after their junction they would form a ſufficient ſhelter for the largeſt ſhips. Nature hath diſpoſed things in ſuch a manner, that the poſt might be rendered impregnable at a trifling expence, with the materials which are to be found upon the ſpot. From this harbour, which abounds in turtles part of the year, and which is ſituated to windward of the Archipelago of America, a ſquadron might, in time of war, ſail in the ſpace of ſeven or eight days, to the aſſiſtance of the national poſſeſſions, or to attack thoſe belonging to the enemies of France.

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THERE is no danger to be feared in theſe latitudes. The winds are generally favourable for approaching the coaſts, as much or as little as one may chuſe. If the contrary ſhould happen, which is extremely uncommon; or if there ſhould be a calm, the ſhips have the reſource of anchoring every where upon an excellent bottom.

THESE advantages are unfortunately accompanied with a few inconveniences. The navigators are obſtructed, on their coming in, by rapid currents. If, in order to avoid them, they ſhould go too near the land, they would find almoſt every where a deficiency of water. There is not any to be found, even at the mouth of the rivers, which can receive none but very ſmall ſhips. The river of Aprouague is the only one which is twelve feet deep. In this river the veſſels may be run aground upon a ſoft bottom, and may undergo all the neceſſary repairs, without creating any anxiety. It is neceſſary, however, to make great diſpatch, becauſe the beſt conſtructed, and beſt fitted out veſſels, are deſtroyed in a ſmall ſpace of time, by the worms, by the muddy waters, by the rains, and by the heats.

IN this region, though near the equator, the climate is very ſupportable. This temperature may be attributed, perhaps, to the length of the nights, and to the abundance of fogs and dews. Guiana never experiences thoſe ſuffocating heats which are ſo common in many other countries of America.

UNFORTUNATELY, this colony is deſtroyed by deluges of water, during the firſt ſix months of

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the year, and ſometimes longer. Theſe ſuper-abundant rains level the elevated ſituations, drown the plains, deſtroy the plants, and frequently ſuſpend the moſt urgent labours. Vegetation is at that time ſo powerful, that it is impoſſible to reſtrain it within proper limits, whatever numbers of people may be employed for that purpoſe. To this calamity ſucceeds another, and that is a long drought, which opens, and parches up the ground.

Various have, for a long time, been the opinions concerning the ſoil of Guiana. It is know'n at preſent, that it is moſtly a ſtony turf, covered over with ſand, and with the remains of ſome vegetables. Theſe grounds are worked with facility, but their produce is very trifling, and even does not laſt longer than five or ſix years. The planter is then obliged to till new grounds, which undergo the ſame fate as the former. Thoſe tillages even, which are executed in ſome parts of a deeper ſoil, which is to be found at intervals, do not laſt long, becauſe the repeated rains, which fall in torrents in thoſe regions, ſoon waſh away the juice that might render them fruitful.

It was upon theſe meager plains that the firſt French, who were driven to Guiana by a fatal deſtiny, formed a ſettlement. The generations which ſucceeded them ſearched for more fertile territories in all parts, but could not find any. In vain did the treaſury make ſeveral great ſacrifices to improve this colony. Theſe expences were unavailing, becauſe they could not alter the nature of things. The example of

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the Dutch, who, after having languiſhed in the neighbourhood upon the high grounds, had at laſt ſucceeded upon plantations formed in moraſſes, which were drained off with immenſe labour, did not make any impreſſion. At length M. Mallouet, being intruſted with the adminiſtration of this unfortunate ſettlement, hath himſelf carried into execution what he had ſeen practiſed at Surinam; and the place which he had reſcued from the ocean was immediately covered with proviſions. This circumſtance hath inſpired the coloniſts, with a ſpirit of emulation, of which they were not thought to be ſuſceptible, and they wait only for the favourable aſſiſtance of government, to enrich the mother-country with their productions.

The plantations will be hereafter eſtabliſhed upon thoſe territories that are formed by levelling of the mountains, and by the ſea. It will be neceſſary to dry up the moraſſes, to dig canals, and to conſtruct dykes. But why ſhould the French be apprehenſive of undertaking what they have executed with ſo much ſucceſs upon their own frontiers? Why ſhould the court of Verſailles refuſe to encourage, by loans and by gratifications, labours of tillage that are really uſeful? It is in the clearing of the lands that conſiſts the true conqueſt over chaos, for the advantage of all mankind; and not in the obtaining of provinces, which are depopulated and laid waſte, in order that we may acquire them; which laviſh the blood of two nations, without enriching either; and which muſt be maintained at a great expence,

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and covered for ages with troops, before we can flatter ourſelves with the peaceable poſſeſſion of them.

EVERY thing invites the French miniſtry to purſue the plan which we have ventured to propoſe. The ſubterraneous fires, which are ſo common in the reſt of America, are at preſent extinguiſhed in Guiana. There are never any earthquakes, neither do hurricanes exerciſe their ravages upon thoſe coaſts. The acceſs to this country is attended with ſo many difficulties, that we may foretel it will not be conquered. The French iſlands, on the contrary, which have already been once taken, attract the attention, and incite the cupidity of a nation, highly diſſatisfied with having reſtored them. This circumſtance makes us preſume, that they will always be diſpoſed to repair, by force of arms, the defects of their negociations. The well-grounded confidence they repoſe in their navy, may perhaps ſoon precipitate them into a new war, in order that they may regain what they have reſtored, and extend their uſurpations ſtill further. Should fortune again favour their enterprizes; ſhould a people, encouraged by victories, of which the citizens alone reap the advantages, be for ever triumphant over a nation which fights for their Kings only, Guiana would at leaſt prove a great reſource, where all the productions which are become neceſſary by habit, might be cultivated; for which an enormous tribute muſt be paid to foreigners,

foreigners, if the colonies of the nation were unable to furniſh them.

The drying up of the coaſts of Guiana would require long and difficult labours. Where can a ſufficient number of men be found for the accompliſhment of this undertaking?

What men could be employed for the cultures of which Guiana is ſuſceptible?

It was thought in 1763, that the Europeans would be fit for this purpoſe. Twelve thouſand of them were the victims of this opinion. About ſixty German, or Acadian families, alone eſcaped the cataſtrophe. They ſettled upon the Sinamary, the banks of which are never overflowed by the ſea, and where there are ſome natural meadows, and a great quantity of turtles. This ſmall colony increaſes, and lives happily along the ſide of that river. Their reſources conſiſt of fiſhing, hunting, breeding of cattle, and the culture of a ſmall quantity of rice, and of maize. Some ſpeculative perſons have concluded from this inſtance, that white people might be able to cultivate Guiana; but they have not conſidered, that colonies have been founded only for the purpoſe of obtaining vendible commodities; and that theſe commodities require labours, more conſtant and more fatiguing than thoſe which are cultivated on the borders of the Sinamary.

The natives of the country might, it is ſaid, execute without inconvenience thoſe labours which are fatal to us. Theſe ſavages were ſufficiently numerous upon the coaſt when it was diſcovered; but their number hath been ſo much diminiſhed by European cruelties, that there are

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at preſent no more than four or five hundred of them capable of bearing arms. But ſome adventurers, who have lately penetrated into the inland countries, have diſcovered ſeveral ſmall nations, each more barbarous than the other. They have every where perceived the oppreſſion of the women, ſuperſtitions which prevent the increaſe of population, animoſities which can only be extinguiſhed by the entire deſtruction of families, and of colonies; the ſhocking neglect of old and of ſick people; the habitual uſe of the moſt various and the moſt ſubtile poiſons, and a multitude of other evils, the hideous ſpectacle of which is too generally diſplayed in a ſtate of nature. Travellers, however, are received with reſpect, and aſſiſted with the moſt unbounded generoſity, and the moſt affecting ſimplicity. They enter into the hut of the ſavage, ſit down by the ſide of his naked wife and daughters, partake of their repaſt, and repoſe upon the ſame bed. The next day they are laden with proviſions, and accompanied to ſome diſtance on their journey by the ſavages, from whom they part with demonſtrations of friendſhip. But this hoſpitable ſcene may become bloody in an inſtant. The ſavage is jealous to exceſs, and on the leaſt ſign of familiarity which ſhould alarm him, he would put his gueſt to death.

THE firſt ſtep to be taken would be, to collect theſe pepetually wandering people. This meaſure might be facilitated, by diſtributing in a proper manner a few preſents, ſuited to their taſte. The moſt ſcrupulous attention ſhould be exerted,

exerted, to avoid bringing together, in the ſame place, ſuch of theſe nations as have an inſurmountable averſion to each other.

THESE colonies ſhould not be caſually formed. It would be proper to diſtribute them in ſuch a manner, as to be able to penetrate, with eaſe, into the inland parts. In proportion as theſe ſettlements ſhall acquire ſtrength, they will facilitate the eſtabliſhment of new habitations.

No conſideration hath yet been powerful enough to fix theſe Indians. The beſt way to ſucceed, would be to diſtribute cows among them, which they would not be able to feed, without cutting down woods, in order to form paſture grounds. The vegetables and the fruit-trees with which their habitation would be enriched, might prove a further inducement to them to give up their wandering life. It is probable that theſe reſources, the advantage of which they have never know'n, might diſguſt them, in time, of hunting and fiſhing, which are at preſent the only ſupport of their miſerable and precarious exiſtence.

THERE would ſtill remain a much more fatal prejudice to ſubdue. It is an idea generally adopted among nations, that ſedentary occupations are ſuitable to women only. This ſenſeleſs pride degrades all kinds of labours in the eyes of the men. An intelligent miſſionary might employ his time to advantage, in combating this infatuation. He would ennoble the labours of agriculture, by exerciſing them himſelf with his children; and by this great and fortunate ſtra-

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tagem, he would ſucceed in diffuſing a new ſyſtem of morality among the young men. It might, perhaps, be alſo poſſible to overcome the indolence even of the parents, if it could be contrived to excite their deſires. It is not improbable but that they would cultivate proviſions, in order to barter them againſt ſome other mercantile articles, which might have become neceſſary to them from habit.

THIS ſalutary end would be far from being anſwered, if the ſavages, when collected together, were ſubjected to a poll-tax, and to the labours of vaſſalage, as they have been by the Portugueze and the Spaniards, upon the borders of the Amazon, of the Rio-Negro, and of the Oroonoko. Theſe people muſt have been ſuffered to enjoy, for ages, the benefits of cultivation, before they ſhould be obliged to bear the burthens of it.

BUT even after this happy revolution, Guiana would ſtill but very imperfectly fulfil the extenſive views which the court of Verſailles may have. The feeble hands of the Indians will only bring forth commodities of moderate value. In order to obtain rich productions, it will be neceſſary to have recourſe to the ſtrong arms of the Negroes.

THE facility which theſe ſlaves will have of deſerting their manufactures, excites apprehenſions. They will take refuge, they will gather together, they will intrench themſelves, it is ſaid, in vaſt foreſts, where the plenty of game, and of fiſh, will ſupply them with an eaſy ſubſiſtence; where

where the heat of the climate will allow them to go without clothes; and where they will never want for wood fit to make bows and arrows. One hundred of them had taken this reſolution about thirty years ago. The troops ſent to reduce them again to ſubjection were repulſed. This check excited the apprehenſions of a general deſertion, and conſternation prevailed throughout the colony. They were uncertain what meaſures to purſue; when a miſſionary ſet out, attended by a ſingle Negroe, arrived at the ſpot where the engagement had taken place, raiſed up an altar, aſſembled all the deſerters by ringing a bell, ſaid maſs to them, harangued them, and brought them all back, without exception, to their former maſters. But the Jeſuits who had merited, and obtained the confidence of theſe unfortunate people, are no longer in the colony; and their ſucceſſors have not ſhew'n either the ſame activity, or an equal knowlege of the human heart. Nevertheleſs, it would not, perhaps, be impoſſible to prevent the evaſion of theſe unhappy victims of our cupidity, by rendering their condition ſupportable. The law of neceſſity, which commands even tyrants, will eſtabliſh in this region a ſpirit of moderation, which humanity alone ought to excite every where.

Before any funds are beſtowed upon Guiana, it would be proper to conſider, whether the colony be well conſti-

THIS new arrangement of things would engage the government in conſiderable expences. Before they enter upon them, they will examine, whether the colony hath hitherto obtained from nature, that kind of conſtitution which was neceſſary to make it proſper, and whether Cayenne be the

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tuted, and it's limits muſt be regulated.

the moſt ſuitable place to become the capital of a large eſtabliſhment. This indeed is our opinion: but ſome able men think otherwiſe, and their arguments muſt de diſcuſſed.

These views may be excellent; and yet it is not a matter of ſurpriſe that the advantages of them ſhould not have been ſooner perceived. The diſcernment of ſome things is attended with ſo much difficulty, that it can only be ſurmounted by experience, or by genius. But the progreſs of experience is ſlow, and requires time; and genius, which, like the courſers of the gods, clears an immenſe interval at one leap, may be expected for ages. When it appears, it is either rejected or perſecuted; and when it ſpeaks, it is not hear'd. If it ſhould by chance be attended to, the ſpirit of jealouſy inveighs againſt it's projects, and traducing them, as ſublime reveries, makes them abortive. The general intereſt of the multitude might, perhaps, ſupply the penetration of genius, if it were ſuffered freely to exert it's influence: but it is inceſſantly thwarted by authority; the depoſitaries of which, while they underſtand nothing, pretend to regulate every thing. Who is the man whom they will honour with their confidence, and with their intimacy? It is the impudent flatterer, who, without believing it, will be continually repeating to them, that they are a ſet of wonderful beings. The miſchief is firſt done by their folly, and is perpetuated by a ſpirit of falſe ſhame, which prevents them from acknowleging their errors. Falſe combinations are exhauſted, before they have diſcovered the true ones, or before they can reſolve to approve, after having

having rejected them. Thus it is that the evil prevails, by the childiſhneſs of the ſovereigns, by the incapacity and pride of the miniſters, and by the impatience of the victims. One might be comforted with reſpect to paſt and preſent misfortunes, if the future were to produce an alteration in this deſtiny: but this is a hope with which it is impoſſible to flatter ourſelves. And if the philoſopher were aſked, of what uſe are the counſels which he perſiſts in giving to nations, and to thoſe who govern them, and that he were to anſwer with ſincerity, he would ſay, that he is only ſatisfying an invincible propenſity to declare the truth, at the riſk of exciting general indignation, and even of being obliged to drink the cup of Socrates.

It would be proper to fix the yet unſettled boundaries of Guiana, before any final reſolution be taken reſpecting this colony. The Dutch are very deſirous of extending the frontiers of Surinam to the North, as far as the banks of the Sinamary; but the military poſt which the court of Verſailles have cauſed to be eſtabliſhed upon the right bank of the river Maroni, ſeems entirely to have ſet aſide this antient pretention. Towards the South, the difficulties are ſtill greater. The Amazon was formerly, without diſpute, the boundary of the French poſſeſſions; ſince by a treaty of the 4th March 1700, the Portugueze engaged to demoliſh the forts which they had erected upon the left bank of that river. At the peace of Utrecht, France, which was under ſubjection, was compelled to cede the navigation of that

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river, together with the lands, which extend as far as the river Vincent Pinçon, or the Oyapock. When the time fixed for the execution of the treaty arrived, it was found, that theſe two words, which were employed as ſynonymous, were deſcribed in the country, as well as in antient maps, as two rivers thirty leagues diſtant from each other. Both courts were equally deſirous of turning this error to their own advantage. The court of Liſbon wiſhed to extend it's boundaries as far as the Oyapock, and that of Verſailles as far as Vincent Pinçon. Nothing could be determined upon, and the conteſted lands have remained deſert ever ſince that rather remote period.

We will not preſume to decide this important queſtion. The only obſervation we ſhall allow ourſelves to make, will be, that the motive of the ceſſion required by Portugal, was to ſecure to it the excluſive trade upon the Amazon. The ſubjects of this crown will therefore poſſibly enjoy this advantage; by reſtraining the limits of the French poſſeſſions only twenty leagues, and as far as to the river of Vincent Pinçon; without it's being neceſſary to puſh them back to the diſtance of fifty leagues, as far as the Oyapock.

Preſent ſtate of French Guiana.

Every thing ſtill remains to be done at Guiana; there are no more than thirty plantations at Cayenne itſelf, and almoſt all of them are in a miſerable condition. The continent is in a ſtill worſe ſtate than the iſland. The habitations are often moved. They are ſeparated by immenſe deſerts. Placed at a great diſtance from the general mart,

mart, they have no facility for bartering their commodities. They enjoy none of the conveniences which men, when collected together, mutually procure to one another. The laws, the police, decency, emulation, the influence of the miniſtry: none of theſe advantages are know'n there. In 1775 there were no more than thirteen hundred free men, and eight thouſand ſlaves, for the clearing of an extent of one hundred leagues of coaſt. The productions of the colony were even inadequate to theſe trifling means, becauſe, in the manufactures there were none but white men without underſtanding, and Negroes who were under no kind of ſubordination. The commodities which were taken away, by the veſſels that came from North America, from Guadaloupe, and from Martinico, did not amount to 100,000 livres *, and France received upon ſix veſſels only forty quintals of ſugar, which were ſold in Europe for 2,156 livres †; ſix hundred and fifty-eight quintals, fourſcore and eight pounds of coffee, which were ſold for 31,296 livres 16 ſols ‡; three quintals thirty-four pounds of indigo, which were ſold for 2,839 livres §; one hundred and fifty-two quintals forty-one pounds of cacao, which were ſold for 10,668 livres 16 ſols ‖; three thouſand and three quintals fifty-five pounds of arnotto, which were ſold for 187,706 livres 7 ſols 6 deniers ¶; nine hun-

* 4,166 l. 13 s. 4d.
† 89 l. 16 s. 8 d.
‡ 1,304 l. 0 s. 8 d.
§ 118 l. 5 s. 10 d.
‖ 444 l. 10 s. 8 d.
¶ 7,821 l. 11 s. 11¾ d.

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dred and seventy-two quintals sixty pounds of cotton, which were sold for 243,150 livres *; three hundred and fifty-three hides, which were sold for 3,177 livres †; fourteen hundred and twenty-two quintals eight pounds of wood, which were sold for 7,604 livres three sols nine deniers ‡; which made upon the whole, 488,598 livres 3 sols 3 deniers §. The 600,000 livres ‖ which were spent by the court, in this as well in other years, for this antient establishment, served to pay for what had been received beyond these exportations. At this period Cayenne was indebted 2,000,000 livres ¶ to the government, or to the merchants of the mother-country.

Something may be expected from the knowlege which M. de Mallouet hath diffused through the colony, and from the encouragements which this able administrator hath granted, in 1777, to those colonists who should devote their labours to the felling of wood for ship-building, to the culture of articles of subsistence, to the salting of fish, and to some other productions of little value, for which he hath insured them a market. Greater expectations are still raised from the spice trees. The clove tree hath already yielded cloves, which are very little inferior to those that come from the Moluccas; and every thing seems to promise that the nutmeg tree will thrive as

* 10,131 l. 5 s.
† 132 l. 7 s. 6 d.
‡ 316 l. 16 s. 10 d.
§ About 20,388 l. 5 s. 2 d.
‖ 2,500 l.
¶ 83,333 l. 6 s. 8 d.

well.

well. But nothing great can be undertaken without a capital; and, indeed, without a conſiderable one.

THIS capital is in the hands of a rich company, which hath been formed, but without any excluſive privilege for this part of the world. This aſſociation, the original funds of which conſiſt of 2,400,000 livres *, hath obtained from government the vaſt ſpace which extends from the river Aprouage to the Oyapock; and every encouragement which could reaſonably be granted them, to fertiliſe this ſoil, which is conſidered as the beſt of Guiana. 'Till their ſucceſs ſhall enable them to employ themſelves in draining the moraſſes, and in cultures of importance, this powerful aſſociation have turned their views towards the felling of wood, the multiplication of cattle, and the cultivation of cotton, and of cacao, but principally of tobacco.

SOME ſlaves have for a long time cultivated, for their own uſe, round their huts, this laſt-mentioned plant. It hath the ſame properties as the tobacco of the Brazils, which ſells to advantage in all the European markets, and which is abſolutely requiſite for the purchaſe of Negroes, upon a great part of the coaſts of Africa. If this undertaking ſhould ſucceed, the wants of France will be diminiſhed, and it's navigators will not be obliged to go to Liſbon for that part of their cargo. The expectations ariſing from St. Lucia are founded upon a different baſis.

* 100,000 l.

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The poſſeſſion of St. Lucia, for a long time diſputed, is at laſt ceded to the French.

THE Engliſh took poſſeſſion of this iſland without oppoſition, in the beginning of the year 1639. They lived there peaceably for a year and a half, when a ſhip of their own nation, which had been overtaken by a calm off Dominica, carried off ſome Caribs, who were come in their canoes to bring them fruit. This violence occaſioned the ſavages of St. Vincent and Martinico to join the offended ſavages; and in Auguſt 1640, they all attacked the new colony. In their fury, they maſſacred every one that oppoſed them. The few who eſcaped their vengeance, quitted, for ever, a ſettlement that was only in it's infant ſtate.

IN the firſt ages of the world, before civil ſocieties were formed and poliſhed, all men in general had a common right to every thing upon earth. Every one was free to take what he choſe for his own uſe, and even to conſume it, if it were of a periſhable nature. The uſe that was thus made of a common right, ſupplied the place of property. As ſoon as any one had in this manner taken poſſeſſion of any thing, it could not be taken from him by another without injuſtice. It was in this point of view, which can only be applied to the primitive ſtate of nature, that the European nations conſidered America when it was firſt diſcovered. They paid no regard to the natives, and imagined they were ſufficiently authoriſed to ſeize upon any country, if no other nation of our hemiſphere were in poſſeſſion of it. Such was conſtantly and uniformly the only public right obſerved in the New World, and which men have not

not ſcrupled to avow, and attempt to juſtify, in this century during the late hoſtilities.

Is not then the nature of property the ſame every where; is it not every where founded upon poſſeſſion acquired by labour, and upon a long and peaceable enjoyment? Europeans, can you then inform us, at what diſtance from your reſidence the ſacred title becomes aboliſhed? Is it at the diſtance of a few ſteps, of one league, or of ten leagues? You will anſwer in the negative; in which caſe it cannot poſſibly be even at the diſtance of ten thouſand leagues. Do you not perceive, that while you arrogate to yourſelves this imaginary right over a diſtant people, you confer it at the ſame time to thoſe diſtant people over yourſelves? Nevertheleſs, what would you ſay, if it were poſſible that the ſavages ſhould enter upon your country, and reaſoning in the ſame manner as you do, ſhould ſay, this land is not inhabited by our own people, and therefore it belongs to us. You hold the ſyſtem of Hobbs in abhorrence among your neighbouring country; and yet this fatal ſyſtem, which makes of ſtrength the ſupreme law, you practiſe it at a diſtance. After having been thieves and aſſaſſins, nothing remained to complete your character, but that you ſhould become, as you really are, a ſet of execrable ſophiſts.

According to theſe principles, which muſt always be reprobated by juſt and upright men, St. Lucia was to belong to any power that could or would people it. The French attempted it firſt. They ſent over forty inhabitants in 1650,

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under the conduct of Rouſſelan, a brave, active, prudent man, and ſingularly beloved by the natives, on account of his having married one of their women. His death, which happened four years after, put a ſtop to the general good he had begun to effect. Three of his ſucceſſors were murdered by the Caribs, who were diſſatisfied with their behaviour to them; and the colony was declining when it was taken in 1664 by the Engliſh, who evacuated it in 1666.

They had ſcarce left it, when the French appeared again on the iſland. Whatever was the cauſe, they had not greatly increaſed their number, when the enemy, that had before driven them out, again forced them to quit their habitations twenty years after. Some, inſtead of evacuating the iſland, took refuge in the woods. As ſoon as the conquerors, who had made only a temporary invaſion, were gone, they reſumed their labours only for a ſhort time. The war, which ſoon after raged in Europe, made them apprehenſive that they might fall a prey to the firſt privateer that ſhould be deſirous of plundering them; with a view, therefore, of obtaining greater tranquillity, they removed to other French ſettlements, which were either ſtronger, or might expect to be better defended. There was then no regular culture or colony in St. Lucia. It was only frequented by the inhabitants of Martinico, who came thither to cut wood, and to build canoes, and who had conſiderable docks on the iſland.

Some ſoldiers and ſailors having deſerted thither after the peace of Utrecht, Marſhal d'Eſtrees petitioned

titioned for a grant of the iſland. No ſooner was it obtained in 1718, than he ſent over a commandant, troops, cannon, and inhabitants. This gave umbrage to the court of London, which had a kind of claim to this iſland from prior ſettlement, as that of Verſailles had from almoſt uninterrupted poſſeſſion. Their complaints determined the French miniſtry, to order that things ſhould be put into the ſame condition they were in before the grant. Whether this compliance did not appear ſufficient to the Engliſh, or whether it gave them room to think they might attempt any thing, they themſelves gave St. Lucia, in 1722, to the duke of Montagu, who was ſent to take poſſeſſion of it. This claſhing of intereſts occaſioned ſome diſturbance between the two courts; which was ſettled, however, by an agreement made in 1731, that, till the reſpective claims ſhould be finally adjuſted, the iſlands ſhould be evacuated by both nations; but that both ſhould have the liberty to wood and water there.

This agreement did not prevent the French from fixing there again a commandant, a garriſon, and batteries. The court of London were either not informed of this breach of faith, or they overlooked it, becauſe this channel was uſeful to their navigators, to aſſiſt them in carrying on with richer colonies a ſmuggling trade, which the ſubjects of both governments thought equally advantageous to them. This trade has been more or leſs conſiderable till the treaty of 1763, which ſecured to France the long and obſtinately conteſted property of St. Lucia.

The

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First transactions of the French at St. Lucia.

THE firſt uſe which the court of Verſailles propoſed to make of their acquiſition, was to eſtabliſh a magazine there. Since their windward iſlands had cut down their foreſts, extended their cultures, and loſt the reſources they uſed to derive from Canada, and from Louiſiana, it had been impoſſible for them to do without the woods and cattle of North America. It was thought great inconveniencies would attend the direct admiſſion of theſe foreign aſſiſtances; and St. Lucia was fixed upon as a very proper place for the exchange of theſe commodities againſt the molaſſes of Martinico and Gaudalupe. Experience ſoon ſhewed that this ſcheme was impracticable.

IN order that this arrangement might be carried into execution, it would be neceſſary that the Americans ſhould either depoſit their cargoes in ſtore-houſes, keep them on board, or ſell them to traders ſettled on the iſland; three things equally impoſſible.

THESE ſailors will never conſent to land their cattle, as the expences they would incur for having them taken care of for their food, or to ſecure them from accidents, would infallibly ruin them. Neither will they pay for warehouſes for their wood, which is too cheap and too bulky a commodity to be worth the charge of ſtore-room. They will never wait on board their ſhips for diſtant purchaſers who might not arrive, nor will they ever meet with intermediate purchaſers, whoſe profits would neceſſarily abſorb ſo much, that it would be impoſſible to employ them.

THE

THE proprietors of molaſſes have the ſame reaſons to diſlike this mart. The carriage, the leakage, and commiſſion, would reduce their commodities to nothing. If the Engliſh ſhould determine to pay a higher price for the molaſſes, they muſt conſequently raiſe that of their own merchandize; and after this advance, the conſumer would not purchaſe them.

THE French miniſtry, undeceived as to their firſt notion, without entirely giving it up, attended, ſince 1763, to the formation of cultures in St. Lucia. This plan was a prudent one, but it was not executed in a proper manner. Had the governor and the intendant of Martinico, from which this iſland is no more than ſeven leagues diſtant, been intruſted with this buſineſs, the coloniſts, who would have been ſent there, would have obtained the ſuccours which can be furniſhed with eaſe, by a ſettlement that hath exiſted more than a century. Precipitation, a paſſion for novelty, the deſire of providing for friends or favourites, and other motives perhaps ſtill more blameable, made the government prefer the ſending of an independent adminiſtration, who were to have no connections but with the mother-country. This erroneous ſyſtem coſt the treaſury 7,000,000 of livres*, and to the ſtate ſeven or eight hundred men, whoſe unhappy fate is more a matter of pity than ſurpriſe. Under the tropics, the beſt eſtabliſhed colonies always deſtroy one third of the ſoldiers that are ſent thither, though they

* 291,666 l. 13 s. 4 d.

are

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are healthy ſtout men, and find good accommodations. It is not ſurpriſing then, that a ſet of miſerable wretches, the refuſe of Europe, and expoſed to all the hardſhips of indigence, and all the horrors of deſpair, ſhould moſt of them periſh in an uncultivated and uninhabited iſland.

THE advantage of peopling this colony was reſerved to the neighbouring ſettlements. Some Frenchmen, who had ſold, upon very profitable terms, their plantations at the Granades to the Engliſh, brought part of their capital to St. Lucia. Several planters from St. Vincent's, incenſed at being obliged to buy lands which they themſelves had been at incredible pains to clear and fertilize, took the ſame ſtep. Martinico alſo furniſhed ſome inhabitants, whoſe poſſeſſions were either not ſufficiently fertile, or too much confined, and merchants who have withdraw'n part of their ſtock from trade in order to devote it to huſbandry. Lands have been gratuitouſly diſtributed to all of them.

Opinion that may be formed of St. Lucia.

THIS would have been but a fatal preſent if the prejudice which prevailed againſt St. Lucia had had any foundation. It was ſaid, that nature had refuſed it every advantage neceſſary to form a colony of any importance. In the opinion of the public, it's dry, uneven, and ſtony ſoil, could never pay the expences of manuring. The inclemency of the climate would infallibly deſtroy every man, who from a ſtrong deſire of enriching himſelf, or who driven by deſpair, ſhould be bold enough to go there. Theſe notions were generally received.

THE

THE fact is, that the ſoil of St. Lucia is not bad on the borders of the ſea, and that it becomes better the further one advances in the country. The whole of the iſland may be cultivated, except ſome high and craggy mountains, which bear evident marks of antient volcanoes. In one deep valley there are ſtill eight or ten hollow places of ſome feet in diameter, where the water boils up in a moſt dreadful manner. There are not indeed many extenſive plains in the iſland, but ſeveral ſmall ones, where ſugar may be cultivated with ſucceſs. The ſhape of the iſland, which is long and narrow, will make the carriage eaſy wherever the canes are planted.

THE air in the inland parts of St. Lucia, is the ſame as it was in all the other iſlands before they were inhabited; foul and unwholeſome at firſt, but leſs noxious, as the woods are cleared, and the ground laid open. The air, on ſome part of the ſea-coaſt, is more unhealthy. On the leeward ſide the lands receive ſome ſmall rivers, which ſpringing from the foot of the mountains, have not a ſlope ſufficient to waſh down the ſands with which the influx of the ocean choaks up their mouths. Stopped by this inſurmountable barrier, they ſpread themſelves into unwholeſome moraſſes upon the neighbouring grounds. So obvious a reaſon had been ſufficient to drive away the few Caribs who were upon the iſland when it was firſt diſcovered. The French, driven into the New World by a more powerful motive than even ſelf preſervation, have been leſs careful than the ſavages. It is upon this very ſpot that they chiefly

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chiefly fixed their plantations. Several of them have been puniſhed for their rapaciouſneſs. Others will be ſo hereafter, unleſs they conſtruct dykes and dig channels to drain off the waters. Government hath already ſet the example of this in the principal part of the iſland; ſome citizens have followed it, and it is to be imagined, that ſo uſeful a practiſe will in time become general.

Preſent ſtate of the colony of St. Lucia.

THERE are already eleven pariſhes in the colony, almoſt all of them to leeward. This preference given to one part of the iſland, is not for the ſake of a better ſoil, but for the conveniency of the ſhipping. In time, that part that was neglected at firſt, will likewiſe be inhabited, as bays are continually diſcovered, in which canoes may put in and receive all kinds of commodities on board.

A ROAD which goes all round the iſland, and two others that croſs it from eaſt to weſt, are very convenient for carrying the produce of the plantations to the landing places. In proceſs of time, and with ſome expence, theſe roads will be brought to a much greater degree of perfection than it was poſſible they ſhould be at firſt, without running into expences too burthenſome for a ſettlement in an infant ſtate. The labours of vaſſalage required for making theſe roads, have unavoidably retarded the culture of the lands, and excited great complaints; but the coloniſts now begin to bleſs the wiſe and ſteady hand that has ordered and conducted this work for their benefit. Their burthen hath been in ſome degree alleviated in latter times, by the attention which

which the directors have had to apply to theſe labours the taxes required to procure an exemption from them.

On the firſt of January 1777, the number of white people at St. Lucia amounted to two thouſand three hundred ſouls, men, women, and children.

There were fifty-thouſand blacks, or free mulattoes. The catttle conſiſted of eleven hundred and thirty mules, or horſes; two thouſand and fifty-three head of horned cattle, and three thouſand ſeven hundred and nineteen ſheep, or goats.

There were fifty-three ſugar plantations, which occupied fifteen hundred and forty-one pieces of land; five millions forty thouſand nine hundred and ſixty-two coffee-trees; one million nine hundred and forty-five thouſand ſeven hundred and twelve cacao plants; and five hundred and ninety-ſeven plots of cotton.

These united productions were ſold in the iſland for little leſs than 3,000,000 of livres *. Two thirds of them were delivered to the Americans, to the Engliſh, and to the Dutch, who were allowed a free trade with the colony. The remainder was carried to Martinico, upon which this iſland was dependent, and from whence it received ſome merchandize and ſome liquors, brought from the mother-country.

The character and abilities of the Earl of Ennery, the founder of this colony, authorized us to

* 125,000 l.

affirm,

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affirm, that when St. Lucia, which is about forty leagues in circumference, hath attained the degree of cultivation it is capable of, it may employ fifty or ſixty thouſand ſlaves, and yield to the value of nine or ten millions * in commodities. This great teſtimony hath been confirmed ſince by other directors. By what fatality is it, that this ſettlement hath acquired ſo ſmall a degree of improvement, notwithſtanding all the encouragements which it hath received?

Obſtacles that have prevented the progreſs of St. Lucia.

THE reaſon of this is, that from the beginning properties were precipitately given to vagabonds, who had neither the habit of labour, nor the means for cultivation: it is becauſe an immenſe territory was granted to greedy ſpeculators, who were only able to cultivate a few acres: it is becauſe the inland parts were diſtributed before the borders had been cleared: it is becauſe the ants, which ſo cruelly infeſted Martinico, have conveyed the ſame ravages in the riſing ſugar plantations of St. Lucia: it is becauſe coffee hath experienced there the ſame diminution in value as every where elſe: in a word, it is becauſe the adminiſtration hath been neither ſufficiently regular, nor ſufficiently continued, nor ſufficiently enlightened. What remedy can be employed againſt ſo many errors, againſt ſo many calamities?

IT will be neceſſary to eſtabliſh a more firm ſyſtem of government, a more ſtrict police. It will be neceſſary to deprive of their territory thoſe who have not at leaſt partly fulfilled the engage-

* From 375,000l. to 416,666l. 13s. 4d.

ment they had contracted, of rendering it useful. It will be neceſſary, by modes of union prudently contrived, to bring together, as much as poſſible, ſome of the plantations that are ſeparated by diſtances, which deprive their owners of the will, of the inclination, and of the facility of aſſiſting each other. It will be neceſſary legally to compel all debtors to pay proper attention to their creditors, with whom it had been cuſtomary to ſport. It will be neceſſary, by a long ſeries of years, and by authentic acts, to ſecure to the traders of all nations a free intercourſe with this iſland. Matters ought indeed to be carried ſtill further.

The French of the mother-country cannot, and thoſe of the iſlands will not, cultivate St. Lucia. Many foreigners, on the contrary, have offered to convey their induſtry and their capitals there, if the barbarous right of eſcheat were ſuppreſſed; a right which impedes the reciprocal commerce of nations; which repels the living man, and ſpoils the dead one; which diſinherits the child of the foreigner; which obliges him to leave his wealth in his own country; and which prohibits him from obtaining elſewhere any acquiſition of perſonal or real eſtate: a right which a people, who have the leaſt idea of good policy, will aboliſh among themſelves, and the extinction of which they will carefully abſtain from ſoliciting in other countries. It is to be hoped that the court of Verſailles will no longer perſiſt in rejecting the only method of raiſing an intereſting colony from that languid ſtate into which it hath

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been plunged by calamities which it was impoſſible to avert, and by the vices of a bad adminiſtration.

Meaſures which the court of Verſailles propoſes to adopt, in order to ſecure St. Lucia from an invaſion.

When the proper ſteps have been taken to render St. Lucia flouriſhing, the French miniſtry may purſue the ſyſtem which they ſeem to have adopted, of defending their colonies by fortreſſes. To keep poſſeſſion of this iſland, it will be ſufficient to defend the Carenage harbour.

This harbour, which is the beſt in the Antilles, unites many advantages. It hath a great deal of water every where, with an excellent bottom. Nature hath provided it with three complete careening places, one for the largeſt ſhips, and the two others for frigates. Thirty ſhips of the line might ride ſafely there, and be ſheltered from the moſt terrible hurricanes. They have never yet been injured by the worms. The winds are always favourable for ſailing out, and the largeſt ſquadron would be cleared out in leſs than an hour.

So favourable a ſituation is capable of defending not only all the national poſſeſſions, but alſo of threatening thoſe of the enemy throughout America. The naval forces of England cannot cover all parts. The ſmalleſt ſquadron ſent out from St. Lucia, would in a few days invade thoſe colonies, which, being leaſt expoſed, would think themſelves quite ſecure. The only way to prevent this danger, would be to block up the Carenage; and even then, the purport of ſo expenſive and tireſome a cruize might be defeated by

by a man who ſhould be bold enough to undertake any enterprize that can be effected at ſea.

THIS harbour, which is ſubject to the inconvenience of expoſing every ſhip that comes within view to be taken, has never appeared worthy the attention of the Britiſh nation, though too powerful and too enlightened not to conſider, that ſhips are to protect the roads, and not the roads the ſhips. With regard to France, this harbour affords the greateſt maritime defence, that is to ſay, a poſition that will not allow a ſhip under ſail to enter. She muſt be warped for a conſiderable ſpace before ſhe can get into it. There is no lying to windward between the two points. The ſoundings increaſing ſuddenly near the land from twenty-five to a hundred fathom, will not permit the aſſailants to come to an anchor. Only one ſhip can come in at a time, and ſhe would be expoſed to the fire of three maſked batteries in front and on both ſides.

A SHIP that would attack the harbour would be under the neceſſity of landing at Shoque Bay, a ſhore a league long, which is only parted from the Carenage by the point called Vigie, which forms this bay. If the enemy were once maſters of the Vigie, they would ſink every ſhip in the harbour, or at leaſt compel them to bring to, and that without any loſs on their ſide; becauſe this peninſula, though commanded by a citadel built on the other ſide of the harbour, would cover the aſſailants by it's own back. It would only have occaſion for mortars, and neither fire a ſingle gun, nor endanger the life of one man.

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If the ſhutting up of the entrance of the harbour againſt the enemy were ſufficient, it would be needleſs to fortify the Vigie. The enemy might be kept out without this precaution; but the ſhips of the French muſt be protected. It is neceſſary that a ſmall ſquadron ſhould be able to ſet the Engliſh forces at defiance; compel them to block up the place; take advantage of their abſence, or of ſome error they might fall into; all which cannot be effected without fortifying the top of the peninſula. It muſt be conſidered, that by thus multiplying the points of defence, a greater number of men will be wanted; but if there be any ſhips in the harbour, their ſailors and gunners may be employed in defending the Vigie, which they would do with the greater alacrity, as on this would depend the ſafety of the ſquadron. If there be no veſſels in the harbour, the Vigie will be abandoned, or ill defended, and that for the following reaſon:

On the other ſide of the harbour there is an eminence, called *Morne Fortuné*. The flat on the top offers one of thoſe favourable ſituations, that are ſeldom to be met with for erecting a citadel, which would require almoſt as great a force to attack it, as the beſt fortified place in Europe. This fortification, the plan of which is already laid, and will certainly one day be carried into execution, will have the advantage of defending the Carenage bay on all ſides, of commanding all the eminences that ſurround it, and of making it impoſſible for the enemy to enter; of ſecuring the town which is to be built on the back of the mountain

mountain; in ſhort, of hindering the aſſailants from penetrating into the iſland, even if they had actually landed at Shoque Bay, and made themſelves maſters of the Vigie. Further diſcuſſions on the means of preſerving St. Lucia muſt be left to the profeſſors of the military art.

It is not, in truth, a motive of vanity that hath engaged us in the diſcuſſion of this matter, which is ſo contrary to our profeſſion, and which implies ſo many ſtudies to which we are ſtrangers, and ſo long an experience in thoſe who follow it. But zeal, the deſire of doing good, and the ſpirit of patriotiſm, direct the thoughts of the man and of the citizen upon every object. His heart grows warm; he reflects; and if he thinks he has diſcovered what is right to be done, he muſt ſpeak, becauſe his ſilence would be reproachful to himſelf. "If my ideas be juſt," ſaith he to himſelf, "perhaps government may "avail themſelves of them; if they be erroneous, "the worſt that can happen will be, that I ſhall "excite a ſmile, and that I ſhall be called the "good man, a name which the venerable Abbé "of St. Pierre took ſo much pride in. I would "rather run the riſk of being ridiculous, than "loſe the opportunity of being uſeful." Whether this duty be well fulfilled or not, let us fix the attention of the reader on Martinico.

The French ſettle at Martinico, upon the ruins of the Caribs.

This iſland hath ſixteen leagues in length, and forty-five in circumference, excluſive of the capes, which ſometimes extend two or three leagues into the ſea. It is very uneven, and interſected in all parts by a number of hillocks, which are moſtly

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of a conical form. Three mountains riſe above theſe ſmaller eminences. The higheſt bears the indelible marks of an antient volcano. The woods with which it is covered, continually attract the clouds, which occaſions noxious damps, and contributes to make it horrid and inacceſſible, while the two others are in moſt parts cultivated. From theſe mountains, but chiefly from the firſt, iſſue the many ſprings that water the iſland. Theſe waters, which flow in gentle ſtreams, are changed into torrents on the ſlighteſt ſtorm. Their quality partakes of the nature of the ſoil they paſs through; in ſome places they are excellent, in others ſo bad, that the inhabitants are obliged to drink the water they have collected in the rainy ſeaſon.

Denambuc, who had ſent to reconnoitre Martinico, ſailed from St. Chriſtopher's in 1635, to ſettle his nation there; for he would not have it peopled from Europe. He foreſaw that men, tired with the fatigue of a long voyage, would moſtly periſh ſoon after their arrival, either from the effects of a new climate, or from the hardſhips incident to moſt emigrations. The ſole founders of this new colony were a hundred men, who had long lived in his government of St. Chriſtopher's. They were brave, active, inured to labour and fatigues; ſkilful in tilling the ground and erecting habitations; abundantly provided with potatoe plants, and all neceſſary ſeeds.

They completed their firſt ſettlement without any difficulty. The natives, intimidated by the fire-arms, or ſeduced by the promiſes that were made

made them, gave up to the French the weſtern and ſouthern parts of the iſland, and retired to the other. This tranquillity was of ſhort duration. The Caribs, when they ſaw theſe enterpriſing ſtrangers daily increaſing, were convinced that their ruin was inevitable, unleſs they could extirpate them; and they therefore called in the ſavages of the neighbouring iſlands to their aſſiſtance. They fell jointly upon a little fort that had been accidentally erected; but they met with ſuch a warm reception, that they thought proper to retreat, leaving ſeven or eight hundred of their beſt warriors dead upon the ſpot. After this check they diſappeared for a long while; and when they returned, they brought with them preſents, and expreſſed their concern for what had happened. They were received in a friendly manner; and the reconciliation was ſealed with ſome bottles of brandy that were given them to drink.

The labours had been carried on with difficulty all this period. The fear of a ſurprize obliged the coloniſts of three different habitations to meet every night in that which was in the center, and which was always kept in a ſtate of defence. There they ſlept ſecure, guarded by their dogs and a centinel. In the day-time no one ventured out without his gun, and a brace of piſtols at his girdle. Theſe precautions were needleſs when the two nations came to be on friendly terms; but the one, whoſe friendſhip and favour had been courted, took ſuch undue advantages of her ſuperiority, to extend her uſurpations, that ſhe ſoon rekindled in the others a hatred that had never

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entirely ſubſided. The ſavages, whoſe manner of life requires a vaſt extent of land, finding themſelves daily more ſtraitened, had recourſe to ſtratagem, to weaken an enemy whom they dared not attack by force. They ſeparated into ſmall bands, waylayed the French, who frequented the woods, waited 'till the ſportſman had fired his piece, and, before he had time to load it again, ruſhed upon him and deſtroyed him. Twenty men had been thus deſtroyed before any one was able to account for their diſappearance. As ſoon as this particular was diſcovered, the aggreſſors were purſued and beaten, their carbets burnt, their wives and children maſſacred, and thoſe few, that eſcaped the carnage, fled from Martinico, and never appeared there again.

First labours of the French in Martinico.

THE French, by this retreat, now become ſole maſters of the iſland, lived quietly upon thoſe ſpots which beſt ſuited their plantations. They were then divided into two claſſes. The firſt conſiſted of ſuch as had paid their paſſage to America; and theſe were called inhabitants. The government diſtributed lands to them, which became their abſolute property upon paying a yearly tribute. They were obliged to keep watch by turns, and to contribute, in proportion to their abilities, towards the neceſſary expences for the public welfare and ſafety. Theſe had under their command a multitude of miſerable people brought over from Europe at their expence, whom they called *engages*, or bondſmen. This engagement was a kind of ſlavery for the term of three years. When that time

wa

was expired, the bondſmen, by recovering their liberty, became the equals of thoſe whom they had ſerved.

THEY all confined themſelves at firſt to the cultivation of tobacco and cotton; to which was ſoon added that of the arnotto and indigo. That of ſugar was not begun till about the year 1650. Benjamin Dacoſta, one of thoſe Jews who are beholden for their induſtry to that very oppreſſion which their nation is now fallen under, after having exerciſed it upon others, planted ſome cocoa trees ten years after. His example was not followed till 1684, when the chocolate grew more common in France. Cocoa then became the principal dependence of the coloniſts, who had not a ſufficient fund to undertake ſugar plantations. One of thoſe calamities which ariſe from the ſeaſons, and which ſometimes affect men, and ſometimes vegetables, deſtroyed all the cocoa trees in 1727. This ſpread a general conſternation among the inhabitants of Martinico. The coffee tree was then propoſed to them, as a plank is held out to mariners after a ſhipwreck.

THE French miniſtry had received, as a preſent from the Dutch, two of theſe trees, which were carefully preſerved in the king's botanical garden. Two ſhoots were taken from theſe. Mr. Deſclieux, who was intruſted to carry them over to Martinico, in 1726, happened to be on board a ſhip which wanted water. He ſhared with his young trees the portion that was allotted him for his own drinking; and by this generous ſacrifice ſaved half of the valuable truſt that had been put into

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into his hands. His magnanity was rewarded. The culture of coffee was attended with the greateſt and moſt rapid ſucceſs; and this virtuous patriot enjoyed, till the end of 1774, the pleaſing ſatisfaction, the uncommon felicity, of having as it were ſaved an important colony, and enriched it with a freſh branch of induſtry.

INDEPENDENT of this reſource, Martinico was poſſeſſed of thoſe natural advantages which ſeemed to promiſe a ſpeedy and great proſperity. Of all the French ſettlements, it is the moſt happily ſituated with regard to the winds that prevail in thoſe ſeas. It's harbours poſſeſs the ineſtimable advantage of affording a certain ſhelter from the hurricanes which annoy theſe latitudes. It's ſituation having made it the ſeat of government, it has obtained the greateſt marks of favour, and enjoyed the ableſt and moſt upright adminiſtration of them all. The enemy has conſtantly reſpected the valour of it's inhabitants, and has ſeldom attacked it without having cauſe to repent. It's domeſtic peace has never been diſturbed, not even in 1717, when urged by a general diſcontent, the inhabitants ventured, boldly indeed, but prudently, to ſend back to France a Governor and an Intendant, who oppreſſed the people under their deſpotiſm and rapaciouſneſs. The order, tranquillity, and harmony, which they found means to preſerve in thoſe times of anarchy, were a proof that they were influenced rather by their averſion from tyranny, than by their impatience of authority; and ſerved in ſome meaſure to juſtify to the mother-country, a ſtep, which in it-

ſelf

ſelf might be conſidered as irregular, and contrary to the eſtabliſhed principles.

NOTWITHSTANDING all theſe advantages, Martinico, though in greater forwardneſs than the other French colonies, had made but little progreſs at the end of the laſt century. In 1700, it contained but 6597 white men in all. The ſavages, Mulattoes, and free Negroes, men, women, and children, amounted to no more than 507. The number of ſlaves was but 14,566. All theſe together made a population of 21,640 perſons. The whole of the cattle was 3,668 horſes or mules, and 9,217 head of horned cattle. They grew a great quantity of cocoa, tobacco and cotton, and had nine indigo houſes, and one hundred and eighty-three ſmall ſugar plantations.

Proſperity of Martinico. Cauſe of it.

ON the ceſſation of the long and obſtinate wars, which had ravaged all the continents, and been carried on upon all the ſeas of the world, and when France had relinquiſhed her projects of conqueſts, and thoſe principles of adminiſtration by which ſhe had been ſo long miſled; Martinico emerged from that feeble ſtate in which all theſe calamities had kept her, and ſoon roſe to a great degree of proſperity. She became the general mart for all the windward national ſettlements. It was in her ports that the neighbouring iſlands ſold their produce, and bought the commodities of the mother-country. The French navigators loaded and unloaded their ſhips no where elſe. Martinico was famous all over Europe. She was the object of ſpeculation, conſidered under the different views of a planter, an agent to the

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colonies, and a trader with Spaniſh and North America.

As a planter, it employed, in 1736, ſeventy-two thouſand ſlaves, upon a ſoil, great part of which was newly cleared, and which conſtantly yielded very abundant crops.

The connections of Martinico with the other iſlands intitled her to the profits of commiſſion, and the charges of tranſport, as ſhe alone was in poſſeſſion of carriages. This profit might be rated at the tenth of the produce, which was increaſing daily. This ſtanding debt, ſeldom called in, was left them for the improvement of their plantations. It was increaſed by advances in money, ſlaves, and other neceſſary articles. Martinico, thus becoming more and more a creditor to the other iſlands, kept them in conſtant dependence, but without injuring them. They all enriched themſelves by her aſſiſtance, and their profit was beneficial to her.

Her connections with Cape Breton, with Canada, and with Louiſiana, procured her a market for her ordinary ſugars, her inferior coffee, her molaſſes and rum, which would not ſell in France. They gave her, in exchange, ſalt fiſh, dried vegetables, deals, and ſome flour.

In her clandeſtine trade on the coaſts of Spaniſh America, conſiſting wholly of goods manufactured by the nation, ſhe was well paid for the riſques which the French merchants did not chuſe to run. This traffic, leſs important than the former as to it's object, was much more lucrative

lucrative in it's effects. It commonly brought in a profit of fourſcore or ninety per cent. upon the value of three or four millions of livres *, yearly ſent to the Caraccas, or the neighbouring colonies.

So many proſperous tranſactions had brought immenſe ſums into Martinico. Twelve millions of livres † were conſtantly circulated there with amazing rapidity. This is, perhaps, the only country in the world where the ſpecie has been ſo conſiderable, as to make it a matter of indifference to them whether they dealt in gold, or ſilver, or in commodities.

Her extenſive trade annually brought into her ports two hundred ſhips from France, fourteen or fifteen fitted out by the mother-country for the coaſt of Guinea, thirty from Canada, ten or twelve from the iſlands of Margaretta and Trinidad; beſide the Engliſh and Dutch ſhips that come to carry on a ſmuggling trade. The private navigation from the iſland to the northern colonies, to the Spaniſh continent, and to the Windward Iſlands, employed a hundred and thirty veſſels, from twenty to ſeventy tons burden, manned with ſix hundred European ſailors of all nations, and fifteen hundred ſlaves long enured to the ſea ſervice.

Manner in which the trade is carried on in Martinico.

At firſt, the ſhips that frequented Martinico uſed to land in thoſe parts where the plantations lay. This practice, ſeemingly the moſt natural,

* From 125,000 l. to 166,666 l. 13 s. 4 d.

† 500,000 l.

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was liable to great inconveniences. The north and north-eaſterly winds which blow upon part of the coaſts, keep the ſea in a conſtant and violent agitation. Though there are many good roads, they are either at a conſiderable diſtance from each other, or from moſt of the habitations. The ſloops, deſtined to coaſt along this interval, were frequently forced by the weather to anchor, or to take in but half their lading. Theſe difficulties retarded the loading and unloading of the ſhip; and the conſequence of theſe delays was, a great loſs of men, and an increaſe of expence to the buyer and ſeller.

COMMERCE, which muſt always reckon among it's greateſt advantages that of procuring a quick return, could not but be impeded by another inconvenience, which was the neceſſity the trader lay under, even in the beſt latitudes, of diſpoſing of his cargo in ſmall parcels. If ſome induſtrious man undertook to ſave him that trouble, this enhanced the price of the goods to the coloniſts. The merchant's profit is to be rated in proportion to the quantity he ſells. The more he ſells, the more is he able to abate of the profit which another muſt make who ſells leſs.

A GREATER inconvenience than either of theſe was, that ſome places were overſtocked with ſome ſorts of European goods, while others were in want of them. The owners of the ſhips were equally at a loſs to take in a proper lading. Moſt places did not afford all ſorts of commodities, nor every ſpecies of the ſame commodity. This

deficiency

deficiency obliged them to touch at ſeveral places, or to carry away too great or too ſmall a quantity of what was fit for the port where they were to unload.

The ſhips themſelves were expoſed to ſeveral difficulties. Many of them wanted careening, and moſt required at leaſt ſome repair. The proper aſſiſtance on theſe occaſions was not to be found in the roads that were but little frequented, where workmen did not chuſe to ſettle, for fear of not getting ſufficient employment. They were therefore obliged to go and refit in ſome particular harbours, and then return to take in their lading at the place where they had made their ſale. Theſe different expeditions took up at leaſt three or four months.

These and many more inconveniences made it very deſirable to ſome of the inhabitants, and to all the navigators, to eſtabliſh a magazine, where the colonies and the mother-country might ſend their reſpective articles of exchange. Nature ſeemed to point out Port Royal as a fit place for this purpoſe. It's harbour was one of the beſt in all the Windward Iſlands, and ſo celebrated for it's ſafety, that, when it was open to the Dutch veſſels, they had orders from the republic to ſhelter there in June, July, and Auguſt, from the hurricanes which are ſo frequent and ſo violent in thoſe latitudes. The lands of the Lamentin are diſtant but a league, and are the moſt fertile and richeſt of all the colony. The numerous rivers which water this fruitful country, convey loaded canoes to a certain diſtance from the

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the place where they empty into the ſea. The protection of the fortifications ſecured the peaceable enjoyment of ſo many advantages; which, however, were balanced by a ſwampy and unwholeſome ſoil. This capital of Martinico was alſo the aſylum of the men of war; which branch of the navy at that time deſpiſed, and even oppreſſed the merchant-men. On this account, Fort Royal was an improper place to become the center of trade, which was therefore turned to St. Peter's.

THIS little town, which, notwithſtanding the fires that have reduced it four times to aſhes, ſtill contains eighteen hundred houſes, is ſituated on the weſtern coaſt of the iſland, in a bay or inlet which is almoſt circular. One part of it is built on the ſtrand along the ſea-ſide; which is called the Anchorage; and is the place deſtined for the ſhips and warehouſes. The other part of the town ſtands upon a low hill: it is called the Fort, from a ſmall fortification that was built there in 1665, to check the ſeditions of the inhabitants againſt the tyranny of monopoly; but it now ſerves to protect the road from foreign enemies. Theſe two parts of the town are ſeparated by a rivulet, or fordable river.

THE anchorage is at the back of a pretty high and perpendicular hill. Shut up, as it were, by this hill, which intercepts the eaſterly winds, the moſt conſtant and moſt ſalubrious in theſe parts; expoſed, without any refreſhing breezes, to the ſcorching beams of the ſun, reflected from the hill, from the ſea, and the black ſand on the beach;

beach; this place is extremely hot, and always unwholeſome. Beſides, there is no harbour; and the ſhips, which cannot winter ſafely upon this coaſt, are obliged to take ſhelter at Fort Royal. But theſe diſadvantages are compenſated by the conveniency of the road of St. Peter's, for loading and unloading of goods; and by it's ſituation, which is ſuch, that ſhips can freely go in and out at all times, and with all winds.

This village was the firſt that was built, and the firſt that was cultivated on the iſland. It hath not been, however, ſo much on account of it's antiquity as of it's convenience, that it enjoys the advantage of having become the center of communication between the colony and the mother-country. At firſt, St. Peter's was the ſtorehouſe for the commodities of ſome diſtricts, which lay along ſuch dreary and tempeſtuous coaſts, that no ſhip could ever get at them; ſo that the inhabitants could carry on no trade without removing elſewhere. The agents for theſe coloniſts in thoſe early times, were only the maſters of ſmall veſſels, who having made themſelves know'n, by continually ſailing about the iſland, were enticed, by the proſpect of gain, to fix upon a ſettled place for their reſidence. Honeſty was the only ſupport of this intercourſe: moſt of theſe agents could not read. None of them kept any books or journals. They had a trunk, in which they kept a ſeparate bag for each perſon, whoſe buſineſs they tranſacted. Into this bag they put the produce of the ſales, and took out what money they wanted for the purchaſes.

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When the bag was empty, the commiſſion was at an end. This confidence, which muſt appear fabulous in our days of degeneracy and diſhoneſty, was yet common at the beginning of this century. There are ſome perſons ſtill living, who have carried on this trade, where the employer had no other ſecurity for the fidelity of his agent, but the benefit reſulting from it.

THESE plain men were ſucceſſively replaced by more enlightened perſons from Europe. Some had gone over to the colony, when it was taken out of the hands of the excluſive companies. Their number increaſed as the commodities multiplied; and they themſelves contributed greatly to the extending of the plantations by the loans they advanced to the planters; whoſe labours had, till then, gone on but ſlowly for want of ſuch help. This conduct made them the neceſſary agents for their debtors in the colony, as they were already for their employers at home. Even the coloniſt, who owed them nothing, was in ſome meaſure dependent on them, as he might poſſibly hereafter ſtand in need of their aſſiſtance. If his crop ſhould fail, or be retarded, a plantation of ſugar canes be ſet on fire, or a mill blow'n down: if his buildings ſhould fall, mortality carry off his cattle or his ſlaves; or if every thing ſhould be deſtroyed by drought or heavy rains; where could he find the means of ſupporting himſelf during theſe calamities, or of repairing the loſs occaſioned by them? Theſe means are in twenty different hands. If only one refuſes his aſſiſtance, the diſtreſs muſt neceſſarily

increaſe

increaſe. Theſe conſiderations induced ſuch as had not yet borrowed money, to truſt the agents of St. Peter's with their concerns, in order to ſecure a reſource in times of diſtreſs.

THE few rich inhabitants, whoſe fortunes ſeemed to place them above theſe wants, were in ſome degree compelled to apply to this factory. The trading captains, finding a port where they might with advantage complete their buſineſs, without ſtirring out of their warehouſes, or even of their ſhips, forſook Fort Royal, Trinity Fort, and all the other places where an arbitrary price was put upon the commodities, and where the payments were ſlow and uncertain. By this revolution, the coloniſts, being confined to their works, which require a conſtant and daily attendance, could no longer go out to diſpoſe of their produce. They were therefore obliged to intruſt it to able men, who, being ſettled at the only frequented ſea-port, were ready to ſeize the moſt favourable opportunities for buying and ſelling; an ineſtimable advantage this, in a country where trade is continually fluctuating. Guadaloupe and Granada followed this example, induced by the ſame motives.

THE war of 1744 put a ſtop to this proſperity; not that the fault was in Martinico itſelf. It's navy, conſtantly exerciſed, and accuſtomed to frequent engagements, which the carrying on of a contraband trade required, was prepared for action. In leſs than ſix months, forty privateers, fitted out at St. Peter's, ſpread themſelves about the latitudes of the Caribbee Iſlands. They ſignalized

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nalized themſelves in a manner worthy of the antient freebooters. They were conſtantly returning in triumph, and laden with an immenſe booty. Yet, in the midſt of theſe ſucceſſes, an intire ſtop was put to the navigation of the colony, both to the Spaniſh coaſt and to Canada, and they were conſtantly diſturbed even on their own coaſts. The few ſhips that came from France, in order to compenſate the hazards they wery expoſed to by the loſs of their commodities, ſold them at a very advanced price, and bought them at a very low one. By this means the produce decreaſed in value, the lands were but ill cultivated, the works neglected, and the ſlaves periſhing for want. Every thing was in a declining ſtate, and tending to decay. The peace at laſt reſtored the freedom of trade, and with it the hopes of recovering the antient proſperity of the iſland. The event did not anſwer the pains that were taken to attain it.

Decline of Martinico, and the cauſe of it.

Two years had not yet elapſed ſince the ceſſation of hoſtilities, when the colony loſt the contraband trade ſhe carried on with the American Spaniards. This revolution was not owen to the vigilance of the guarda-coſtas. As it is more the intereſt of the traders to ſet them at defiance than their's to defend themſelves; the former are apt to deſpiſe men who are ill paid to protect ſuch rights, or enforce ſuch prohibitions as are oftentimes unjuſt. The ſubſtitution of regiſter ſhips to the fleets was the cauſe that confined the attempts of the ſmugglers within very narrow limits. In the new ſyſtem, the number of ſhips

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was undetermined, and the time of their arrival uncertain, which occaſioned a variation in the price of commodities unknow'n before. From that time the ſmuggler, who only engaged in this trade from the certainty of a fixed and conſtant profit would no longer purſue it, when it did not ſecure him an equivalent to the riſques he ran.

But this loſs was not ſo ſenſibly felt by the colony, as the hardſhips brought upon them by the mother-country. An unſkilful adminiſtration clogged the reciprocal and neceſſary connection between the iſlands and North America with ſo many formalities, that in 1755 Martinico ſent but four veſſels to Canada. The direction of the colony, now committed to the care of avarious and ignorant clerks, ſoon loſt it's importance, ſunk into contempt, and was proſtituted to venality.

In the mean while the trade of France was not yet affected by the decay of Martinico. The French found traders in the road of St. Peter's, who purchaſed their cargoes at a good price, and ſent their ſhips home with expedition, and richly laden; and they never inquired from what particular colony the conſumption and produce aroſe. Even the Negroes who were carried there were ſold at a high price; but few remained. The greateſt part were ſent to the Granades, to Guadalupe, and even to the Neutral Iſlands, which, notwithſtanding the unlimited freedom they enjoyed, preferred the ſlaves brought by the French, to thoſe the Engliſh offered, though ap-

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parently on better terms. They were convinced, from long experience, that the choſen Negroes, who coſt the moſt, enriched their lands, while the plantations did not flouriſh in the hands of the Negroes bought at a lower price. But theſe profits of the mother-country were foreign, and rather hurtful to Martinico.

She had not yet repaired her loſſes during the peace, nor paid off the debts which a ſeries of calamities had obliged her to contract; when war, the greateſt of all evils, broke out afreſh. A ſeries of misfortunes for France, after repeated defeats and loſſes, made Martinico fall into the hands of the Engliſh. It was reſtored in July 1763, ſixteen months after it had been conquered; but deprived of all the neceſſary means of proſperity, that had made it of ſo much importance. For ſome years paſt, the contraband trade carried on to the Spaniſh coaſts was almoſt intirely loſt. The ceſſion of Canada and of Louiſiana had precluded all hopes of opening again a communication, which had only been interrupted by temporary miſtakes. The productions of the Granades, St. Vincent, and Dominica, which were now become Britiſh dominions, could no longer be brought into their harbours; and a new regulation of the mother-country, which forbad her having any intercourſe with Guadalupe, left her no hopes from that quarter.

The colony, thus deſtitute, could depend upon nothing but it's cultures; unfortunately, at the period when it's inhabitants began to attend to them with advantage, there appeared in the iſland a ſpe-

a ſpecies of ant unknow'n in America, before it had exerciſed ſuch ravages in Barbadoes, that it was deliberated, whether it would not be proper to abandon a colony formerly ſo flouriſhing. It is not know'n whether this inſect was transferred to Martinico from the Continent, or from this iſland. It is however certain, that it occaſioned inexpreſſible ravages in all the ſugar plantations in the iſland where it appeared. This calamity, which had been too ineffectually reſiſted, had laſted for eleven years, when the coloniſts aſſembled on the 9th of March 1775, announced a reward of 666,000 livres *, for the perſon who ſhould find a remedy againſt theſe deſtructive ſcourges. This important ſecret hath been already diſcovered and practiſed by an officer named Deſvouſe, upon one of the plantations the moſt infeſted with ants. This excellent cultivator had obtained plentiful crops by multiplying the labours, the manure, and the weedings, by burning the ſtraw in which this inſect concealed itſelf, by replanting the ſugar canes after every crop, and by diſpoſing them in ſuch a manner as to facilitate the circulation of the air. This example hath at length been followed by the rich coloniſts, others will imitate it in proportion to their means, and it is to be hoped that in proceſs of time, the recollection only will remain of this great diſaſter.

This calamity was raging in it's greateſt force, when the hurricane of 1766, the moſt furious of

* 27,750l.

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thoſe which had ravaged Martinico, deſtroyed the proviſions and the harveſts, rooted up the trees, and even overthrew the buildings. The deſtruction was ſo general, that ſcarce a few inhabitants remained able to adminiſter comfort to ſo many unfortunate people, and to relieve ſo many miſeries.

The high price to which for ſome time coffee had riſen, aſſiſted them in ſupporting theſe misfortunes. This production, which had been too much cultivated, fell into diſgrace, and the planters preſerved only the regret of having devoted their lands to a commodity, the value of which was no more ſufficient for their ſubſiſtence.

To complete theſe misfortunes, the mother-country ſuffered the colony to be in want of the perſons neceſſary for the labours of it; for from the year 1764, to 1774, the trade of France did not introduce into Martinico more than three hundred and forty-five ſlaves, one year with another. The inhabitants were reduced to the neceſſity of renewing their men from the refuſe of the Engliſh cargoes clandeſtinely introduced.

An enlightened miniſter, whoſe watchful care would have extended itſelf to all parts of the empire, would have alleviated the fate of a great ſettlement ſo cruelly afflicted, but this was not the caſe. New offices eſtabliſhed on the colony were ſubſtituted to thoſe ſuccours it had a right to expect.

In the French ſettlements in the New World, and undoubtedly in thoſe of other nations likewiſe, the Africans grew extremely depraved;

and this was, becauſe they were certain of impunity. Their maſters, ſeduced by a blind motive of intereſt, never brought the criminals to juſtice. In order to put a ſtop to this great miſchief, the black code regulated that the price of every ſlave who ſhould be condemned to death, after information lodged againſt him with the magiſtrate by the proprietor, ſhould be paid for by the colony.

COLLECTIONS were immediately made for this uſeful purpoſe; but part of them was ſoon employed in expences foreign to their inſtitution. That of Martinico was ſtill more oppreſſed than the others with theſe acts of injuſtice; when in 1771, it was burthened with the expences incurred by the chamber of agriculture belonging to the colony, and with the ſalary of a deputy, which it's council keeps to no purpoſe in the mother-country.

OPPRESSION was carried ſtill further. The duties which the government collected at Martinico, were originally very trifling, and were paid in proviſions, which were changed into metals, when theſe univerſal agents of commerce were multiplied in the iſland. Nevertheleſs, the impoſt was moderate till 1763, when it was raiſed to eight hundred thouſand livres *. Three years after, it became neceſſary to lower it, but this diminution, extorted by the calamities of the times, was put a ſtop to in 1762. The tribute was lowered again in 1778, to the ſum of 666,000

* 833,333 l. 6 s. 8 d.

livres,

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livres *, which is equal to a million † in the iſlands. It is paid by a poll-tax upon the white people and upon the Negroes, by a tax of five per cent. on the rent of houſes, by a duty of one per cent. on all heavy merchandize which enters the colony, and an equal duty upon all proviſions that are exported from it, except coffee, which pays three per cent.

Preſent ſtate of Martinico.

On the firſt of January 1778, the population of Martinico conſiſted of twelve thouſand white people of all ages, and of both ſexes; three thouſand free Negroes or Mulattoes, and upwards of fourſcore thouſand ſlaves, though it's calculations did not amount to more than ſeventy-two thouſand.

It's cattle conſiſted of eight thouſand two hundred mules or horſes; nine thouſand ſeven hundred head of horned cattle, and thirteen thouſand one hundred hogs, ſheep, or goats.

It's ſugar plantations amounted to two hundred fifty-ſeven, which occupied ten thouſand three hundred and ninety-ſeven ſquares of land. It cultivated ſixteen millions ſix hundred two thouſand eight hundred and ſeventy coffee plants; one million four hundred thirty thouſand and twenty cacao plants; and one million ſix hundred forty-eight thouſand five hundred and fifty cotton plants.

In 1775, the French navigators loaded at Martinico one hundred and twenty-two veſſels, with two hundred and forty-four thouſand four

* 27,750 l. † 41,666 l. 13 s. 4 d.

hundred

hundred and thirty-eight quintals, fifty-eight pounds of clayed or raw ſugar, which were ſold in the mother-country for 9,971,155 livres, 3 ſols, 7 deniers *; with ninety-ſix thouſand eight hundred and eighty-nine quintals, ſixty-eight pounds of coffee, which were ſold for 4,577,259 livres, 16 ſols †; eleven hundred and forty-ſeven quintals eight pounds of indigo, which were ſold for 975,018 livres ‡; eight thouſand ſix hundred and fifty-ſix quintals, ſixty-three pounds of cacao, which were ſold for 605,964 livres, 12 ſols §; eleven thouſand and twelve quintals of cotton, which were ſold for 2,753,100 livres ‖; nine hundred and nineteen hides, which were ſold for 8,271 livres ¶; twenty-nine quintals ten pounds of rope-yarn, which were ſold for 29,100 livres **; nineteen hundred ſixty-ſix quintals, thirty-five pounds of black caſſia, which were ſold for 52,980 livres, 10 ſols ††; one hundred and twenty-five quintals of wood, which were ſold for 3,125 livres ‡‡; the total amount of theſe articles was 18,975,974 livres, 1 ſol, 7 deniers §§; but this ſum did not entirely belong to the colony; a little more than a quarter of it belonged to St. Lucia and Guadalupe, which had ſent part of their productions to Martinico.

Hath Martinico any proſpect of improving?

ALL thoſe who from inſtinct or duty are concerned for the intereſt of their country, would

* About 415,465 l. 16 s.
† 190,719 l. 3 s. 2 d.
‡ 40,625 l. 15 s.
§ 25,248 l. 10 s. 6 d.
‖ 114,712 l. 10 s.
¶ 344 l. 12 s. 6 d.
** 1,212 l. 10 s.
†† 2,207 l. 10 s.
‡‡ 130 l. 4 s. 2 d.
§§ About 790,665 l. 11 s. 9 d.

wiſh

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wiſh to ſee the productions multiplied at Martinico. It is well know'n, indeed, that the center of the iſland, full of horrid rocks, is unfit for the culture of ſugar, coffee, or cotton; that too much moiſture would be hurtful to theſe productions; and that, ſhould they ſucceed, the charges of carriage acroſs mountains and precipices would abſorb the profits of the crops. But in this large ſpace meadows would turn to very good account. The ſoil is excellent for paſture, and only wants the attention of government to furniſh the inhabitants with the neceſſary increaſe of cattle both for labour and food. There are other ſpots on the iſland where the ſoil is ungrateful. Craggy territories which have been levelled by the torrents and the rains; ſwampy grounds, which it would be difficult, and perhaps impoſſible to dry up; and ſtony lands, which cannot be fertilized by any kind of labour. The obſervers, however, who are the moſt acquainted with the colony, unanimouſly agree, that theſe cultures are capable of being increaſed nearly by one-third, and that even this improvement might be brought about by a better and more ſteady method of cultivation, without any further clearing of lands. But in order to attain to this improvement, a greater number of ſlaves would be required. It is a conſiderable thing that the inhabitants have been able to preſerve, till our time, their works in the ſame ſtate as they had received them from their anceſtors. We do not think that it will be in their power to increaſe them.

THE proprietors of the lands at Martinico may be divided into four claſſes. The firſt are poſſeſſed of a hundred large ſugar plantations, in which twelve thouſand Negroes are employed. The ſecond have one hundred and fifty, worked by nine thouſand blacks. The third claſs poſſeſs thirty-ſix, with two thouſand blacks. The fourth, devoted to the culture of coffee, cotton, cocoa, and caſſava, may employ twelve thouſand Negroes. The remaining ſlaves of both ſexes are engaged in domeſtic ſervices, in fiſhing, or in navigation, they are children or infirm perſons.

THE firſt claſs conſiſts entirely of rich people. Their culture is carried to the higheſt degree of perfection, and they are able to preſerve it in the flouriſhing ſtate to which they have brought it. Even the expences they muſt be at for replacing deficiencies, are not ſo great as thoſe of the leſs wealthy planter, as the ſlaves born upon theſe plantations ſupply the place of thoſe deſtroyed by time and labour.

THE ſecond claſs, which is that of planters in eaſy circumſtances, have but half the hands that would be neceſſary to acquire a fortune equal to that of the opulent proprietors. If they were even able to buy the number of ſlaves they want, they would be deterred from it by fatal experience. Nothing can be more imprudent than the cuſtom of putting a great number of freſh Negroes upon a plantation. The ſickneſs thoſe miſerable wretches are liable to, from a change of climate and diet; the trouble of inuring them to a kind

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of labour to which they are not accuſtomed, and which they diſlike, cannot but diſguſt a planter, from the conſtant and laborious attention he muſt pay to this training up of men for the cultivation of land. The moſt active proprietor, is he, who is able to increaſe his works by one-ſixth of the number of ſlaves every year. Thus the ſecond claſs might acquire fifteen hundred blacks yearly, if the net produce of their lands would admit of it. But they muſt not expect to meet with credit. The merchants in France do not ſeem diſpoſed to truſt them; and thoſe who circulated their ſtock in the colony, no ſooner found that they could not make uſe of it without running conſiderable riſques, than they removed it to Europe, or to St. Domingo.

The third claſs, which are but little removed from indigence, cannot change their ſituation by any means which the natural courſe of trade can ſupply. It is a matter of difficulty for them to be able to ſubſiſt. The indulgence of government can alone put them into ſuch a flouriſhing condition as to render them uſeful to the ſtate, by lending them, without intereſt, the ſums they may want, to raiſe their plantations. This claſs might employ a greater number of freſh Negroes than we have allotted to the ſecond, without the ſame inconveniences; becauſe each planter having fewer ſlaves to look after, will be able to pay a greater attention to thoſe he may purchaſe.

The fourth claſs, who are employed in cultures of leſs importance than that of ſugar, do not

not ſtand in need of ſuch powerful helps, to recover that eaſe and plenty from which they are fallen, by war, hurricanes, and other misfortunes. Could theſe two laſt claſſes but make an acquiſition of fifteen hundred ſlaves every year, it would be ſufficient to raiſe them to that degree of proſperity to which their induſtry naturally intitles them.

THUS Martinico might hope to revive her declining plantations, and to recover the firſt ſplendour to which her diligence had raiſed her, if ſhe could get a yearly acceſſion of three thouſand Negroes. But it is well know'n that ſhe is not in a condition to pay for theſe recruits. She owes the mother-country, for balance of trade, about a million *. A ſeries of misfortunes has obliged her to borrow four millions † of the merchants ſettled in the town of St. Peter. The engagements ſhe has entered into on account of divided inheritances, and thoſe ſhe has contracted for the purchaſe of a number of plantations, have made her inſolvent. This deſperate ſtate will neither allow her the means of ſoon recovering her former ſituation, nor the ambition of purſuing that road to fortune which once lay open to her.

Whether Martinico can be conquered?

ADD to this, that ſhe ſtands expoſed to invaſion. But though there are a number of places where the enemy may land, yet they will never make the attempt. It would indeed be fruitleſs, becauſe of the impoſſibility of bringing up the artillery and ammunition, acroſs ſuch a rugged country to

* 41,666 l. 13 s. 4 d. † 166,666 l. 13 s. 4 d.

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Fort Royal, which defends the whole colony. It is in this latitude only that the enemy would ſail, in order to make ſuch an attempt.

In the front of this ſtrong and principal place of defence is a famous harbour, ſituated on the ſide of a broad bay, that cannot be entered without many tackings, which muſt decide the fate of any ſhip that is forced to avoid an engagement. If ſhe happens to be unrigged, or is a bad ſailor, or meets with ſome accident from the variations of the ſqualls of wind, the currents, or whirlpools, ſhe will fall into the hands of an aſſailant that is a better ſailor. The garriſon of the fortreſs itſelf may become a uſeleſs and inglorious ſpectator of the defeat of a whole ſquadron, as it has been often of the taking of merchant ſhips.

The inſide of the harbour is much injured on account of the hulks of ſeveral ſhips that have been ſunk there, to keep out the Engliſh in the laſt war. Theſe veſſels have been taken up again; but it will ſtill require a conſiderable expence to remove the heaps of ſand which had gathered about them, and to put the harbour in the ſame ſtate it was before. This work will not admit of any delay; for the port, though not very ſpacious, is the only one where ſhips of all rates can winter; the only one where they can be ſupplied with maſts, ſails, cables, and excellent water, which is brought there from the diſtance of a league by a very well-contrived canal, and which may be eaſily procured.

An enemy will always land near to this harbour, and there is no poſſibility of preventing them, whatever

whatever precautions be taken. The war could only be carried on againſt them in the field; it could not be continued for any time, and the people would ſoon be reduced to ſhut themſelves up in their fortifications.

They formerly had no other fortification than Fort Royal, where immenſe ſums had been buried through want of ſkill under a ridge of mountains. All the knowlege of the ableſt engineers has never been ſufficient to give any degree of ſtrength or ſolidity to works occaſionally erected by the moſt unſkilful hands, and without any ſort of plan. They have been obliged to content themſelves with adding a covered way, a rampart and flanks, to ſuch parts of the place as would admit of them. But the work of the moſt conſequence has been to cut into the rock, which eaſily gives way; and to dig ſubterraneous rooms, which are airy, wholeſome, and fit to ſecure warlike ſtores and proviſions; as alſo to ſhelter the ſick, and to defend the ſoldiers, and ſuch of the inhabitants whoſe attachment to their country would inſpire them with courage to defend the colony. It has been thought, that men who were ſure of finding a ſafe retreat in theſe caverns, after having expoſed their lives on the ramparts, would ſoon forget their fatigues, and face the enemy with freſh vigour. This idea was fortunate and ſenſible, and muſt have been ſuggeſted, if not by a patriotic government, at leaſt by ſome ſenſible and humane miniſter.

But the bravery this muſt inſpire could not be ſufficient to preſerve a place which is commanded

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on all ſides. It was therefore thought adviſeable to fix upon ſome more advantageous ſituation; and the point called *Morne Garnier* was choſen for this purpoſe, which is higher by thirty-five or forty feet than the higheſt tops of Patate, Tortenſon, and Cartouche, all which overlook Fort Royal.

Upon this eminence a citadel has been raiſed, conſiſting of four baſtions. The baſtions in front, the covered way, the reſervoirs for water, the powder magazines; all theſe means of defence are ready. The cazernes, and other neceſſary buildings, will ſoon complete the work. If even the redoubts and the batteries, intended to force the enemy to make their deſcent at a greater diſtance than Caſco bay, where they landed at the laſt invaſion, ſhould not be attended with the effect that is expected from them; yet ſtill the colony would be able to reſiſt about three months. Fifteen hundred men will defend the *Morne Garnier* for thirty or ſix-and-thirty days againſt an army of fifteen thouſand; and twelve hundred men will ſuſtain themſelves for twenty or five-and-twenty days in Fort Royal, which cannot be attacked till *Garnier* has been taken. This is all that can be expected from an expence of ten millions of livres *.

Thoſe, who are of opinion that the navy alone ought to protect the colonies, think that ſo conſiderable an expence hath been miſapplied. As it was not poſſible, in their opinion, to erect forti-

* 416,666 l. 13 s. 4 d.

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fications, and to build ships at the same time, the preference ought to have been given to the latter, as being indispensably necessary; especially if the impetuosity in the character of the French disposes them to attack rather than to defend, they ought sooner to destroy than erect fortresses; or none but ships should be built, those moveable ramparts which carry war with them, instead of waiting for it. Any power that aims at trade, and the establishment of colonies, must have ships, which bring in men and wealth, and increase population and circulation; whereas bastions and soldiers are only fit to consume men and provisions. All that the court of Versailles can expect from the expence they have incurred at Martinico, is, that if the island should be attacked by the only enemy it has to fear, there will be time enough to relieve it. The English proceed slowly in a siege; they always go on by rule, and nothing diverts them from completing any works that concern the safety of the assailants; for they esteem the life of a soldier of more consequence than the loss of time. This maxim, so sensible in itself, is, perhaps, misapplied in the destructive climate of America; but it is the maxim of a people, whose soldiers are engaged in the service of the state, not mercenaries paid by the prince. But whatever be the future fate of Martinico, it is now time to inquire into the present state of Guadalupe.

The French invade Guadalupe. Calamities they xperience there.

This island, which is of an irregular form, may be about eighty leagues in circumference. It is divided into two parts by a small arm of the sea,

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which is not above two leagues long, and from fifteen to forty toiſes broad. This canal, know'n by the name of the ſalt river, is navigable, but will only carry Indian boats.

THAT part of the iſland which gives it's name to the whole colony, is, towards the center, full of craggy rocks, and ſo cold, that nothing will grow there but fern, and ſome uſeleſs ſhrubs covered with moſs. On the top of theſe rocks, a mountain called *la Souphriere*, or the Brimſtone mountain, riſes to an immenſe height into the middle region of the air. It exhales, through various openings, a thick black ſmoke, intermixed with ſparks that are viſible by night. From all theſe hills flow numberleſs ſprings, which fertilize the plains below, and moderate the burning heat of the climate by a refreſhing ſtream, ſo celebrated, that the galleons, which formerly uſed to touch at the Windward Iſlands, had orders to renew their proviſion with this pure and ſalubrious water. Such is that part of the iſland properly called Guadalupe. That which is commonly called Grande Terre, has not been ſo much favoured by nature. The ſoil is not ſo fertile, or the climate ſo wholeſome or ſo pleaſant. It is, indeed, leſs rugged; but it wants ſprings and rivers. There are even no ſprings to be found there. Aqueducts, which would not be very expenſive, would undoubtedly, in proceſs of time, enable it to enjoy this advantage in common with the other part of the colony.

No European nation had yet taken poſſeſſion of this iſland, when five hundred and fifty French-

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men, led on by two gentlemen named Loline and Dupleſſis, arrived there from Dieppe on the 28th of June, 1635. They had been very imprudent in their preparations. Their proviſions were ſo ill choſen, that they were ſpoiled in the paſſage; and they had ſhipped ſo few, that they were exhauſted in two months. They were ſupplied with none from the mother-country. St. Chriſtopher's, whether from ſcarcity or deſign, refuſed to ſpare them any; and the firſt attempts in huſbandry they made in the country, could not yet afford any thing. No reſource was left for the colony but from the ſavages; but the ſuperfluities of a people who cultivate but little, and therefore had never laid up any ſtores, could not be very conſiderable. The new comers, not content with what the ſavages might freely and voluntarily bring, came to a reſolution to plunder them; and hoſtilities commenced on the 16th of January, 1636.

The Caribs, not thinking themſelves in a condition openly to reſiſt an enemy who had ſo much the advantage from the ſuperiority of their arms, deſtroyed their own proviſions and plantations, and retired to Grande Terre, or to the neighbouring iſlands. From thence the moſt deſperate came over to the iſland from which they had been driven, and concealed themſelves in the thickeſt parts of the foreſts. In the day-time they ſhot with their poiſoned arrows, or knocked down with their clubs, all the French who were ſcattered about for hunting or fiſhing. In the night, they burned the dwellings, and deſtroyed the plantations of their unjuſt ſpoilers.

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A DREADFUL famine was the conſequence of this kind of war. The coloniſts were reduced to graze in the fields, to eat their own excrements, and to dig up dead bodies for their ſubſiſtence. Many who had been ſlaves at Algiers, held in abhorrence the hands that had broken their fetters; and all of them curſed their exiſtence. It was in this manner that they atoned for the crime of their invaſion, 'till the government of Aubert brought about a peace with the ſavages at the end of the year 1640. When we conſider the injuſtice of the hoſtilities which the Europeans have committed all over America, we are almoſt tempted to rejoice at their misfortunes, and at all the judgments that purſue thoſe inhuman oppreſſors. We are ready, from motives of humanity, to renounce the ties that bind us to the inhabitants of our own hemiſphere, to change our connections, and to contract beyond the ſeas, with the ſavage Indians, an alliance which unites all mankind, that of misfortune and compaſſion.

Guadalupe recovers by degrees from it's miſeries, but does not become a flouriſhing colony 'till after having been conquered by England.

THE remembrance, however, of hardſhips endured in an invaded iſland, proved a powerful incitement to the cultivation of all articles of immediate neceſſity; which afterwards induced an attention to thoſe of luxury conſumed in the mother-country. The few inhabitants who had eſcaped the calamities they had draw'n upon themſelves, were ſoon joined by ſome diſcontented coloniſts from St. Chriſtopher's, by Europeans fond of novelty, by ſailors tired of navigation, and by ſome ſea-captains, who prudently choſe to commit to the care of a grateful ſoil the treaſures they had

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ſaved from the dangers of the ſea. But ſtill the proſperity of Guadalupe was ſtopped, or impeded, by obſtacles ariſing from it's ſituation.

The facility with which the pirates from the neighbouring iſlands could carry off their cattle, their ſlaves, their very crops, frequently brought them into a very deſperate ſituation. Inteſtine broils, ariſing from jealouſies of authority, often diſturbed the quiet of the planters. The adventurers who went over to the Windward iſlands, diſdaining a land that was fitter for agriculture than for naval expeditions, were eaſily attracted to Martinico, by the convenient roads it abounds with. The protection of thoſe intrepid pirates, brought to that iſland all the traders who flattered themſelves that they might buy up the ſpoils of the enemy at a low price, and all the planters who thought they might ſafely give themſelves up to peaceful labours. This quick population could not fail of introducing the civil and military government of the Caribbee Iſlands into Martinico. From that time, the French miniſtry attended more ſeriouſly to this than to the other colonies, which were not ſo immediately under their direction; and, hearing chiefly of this iſland, they turned all their encouragements into that channel.

It was in conſequence of this preference, that in 1700 the number of inhabitants in Guadalupe amounted only to 3825 white people; 325 ſavages, free negroes, or mulattoes; and 6,725 ſlaves, many of whom were Caribs. Her cultures were reduced to 60 ſmall plantations of ſugar, 66 of indigo, a little cocoa, and a conſider-

able quantity of cotton. The cattle amounted to 1,620 horſes and mules, and 3,699 head of horned cattle. This was the fruit of ſixty years labour.

THE colony did not make any rapid progreſs 'till after the peace of Utrecht. It's population conſiſted of 9,643 white men; 41,140 ſlaves; and it's cattle and proviſions were proportioned to it, when, in the month of April 1759, it was conquered by the arms of Great Britain.

FRANCE lamented this loſs; but the colony had reaſon to comfort themſelves for this diſgrace. During a ſiege of three months, they had ſeen their plantations deſtroyed, the buildings that ſerved to carry on their works burnt down, and ſome of their ſlaves carried off. Had the enemy been forced to retreat after all theſe devaſtations, the iſland was ruined. Deprived of all aſſiſtance from the mother-country, which was not able to ſend her any ſuccours, and expecting nothing from the Dutch, who on account of their neutrality came into her roads, becauſe ſhe had nothing to offer them in exchange, ſhe could never have ſubſiſted 'till the enſuing harveſt.

THE conquerors delivered the coloniſts from theſe apprehenſions. The Engliſh, indeed, are no merchants in their colonies. The proprietors of lands, who moſtly reſide in Europe, ſend their repreſentatives whatever they want, and draw the whole produce of the eſtate by the return of their ſhip. An agent ſettled in ſome ſea-port of Great Britain, is intruſted with the furniſhing of the plantation, and with receiving the produce. This was impracticable

at Guadalupe; and the conquerors in this reſpect were obliged to adopt the cuſtom of the conquered. The Engliſh, informed of the advantage the French made of their trade with the colonies, haſtened, in imitation of them, to ſend their ſhips to the conquered iſland; and ſo multiplied their expeditions, that they overſtocked the market, and ſank the price of all European commodities. The coloniſt bought them at a very low price, and, in conſequence of this plenty, obtained long delays for the payment.

To this credit, which was neceſſary, was ſoon added another ariſing from ſpeculation, which enabled the colony to fulfil it's engagements.

The victorious nation ſent there eighteen thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty-one ſlaves, in the expectation of reaping in time great advantages from their labour. But their ambition was fruſtrated, and the colony was reſtored to it's former poſſeſſors in July 1763.

Various ſyſtems adopted by the miniſtry of France, in the government of Guadalupe.

The flouriſhing ſtate to which Guadalupe had been raiſed by the Engliſh, was remarked by all the world, when they reſtored it. It acquired that degree of conſideration, which opulence always inſpires at preſent. The mother-country beheld it with a kind of reſpect. Till that time it had been ſubordinate to Martinico, as were all the French Windward Iſlands. The iſland was releaſed from theſe ſhackles, which it conſidered as a diſgrace, by giving it an independent adminiſtration. This arrangement laſted 'till 1768, at which period it was again ſubjected to the former yoke, from which it was releaſed in 1772, and placed

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placed under it again ſix months after. In 1775, a governor of it's own was again granted to it; and it is to be hoped, that after ſo many variations, the court of Verſailles will no more depart from this arrangement, the only one which is conformable to the principles of an enlightened policy. Should adminiſtration ever ſwerve from this fortunate plan, the governors and the intendants would again beſtow their care, their credit, and their regard, upon the metropolitan iſland immediately under their inſpection, while the dependant iſland would be abandoned to ſubalterns, without influence, or without conſideration, and conſequently without the power or the will of doing any thing uſeful.

The military men, who have been of opinion that the two colonies ſhould be united under one governor, have been led into it from conſidering the advantages that would ariſe from collecting the forces of both iſlands, for their mutual defence. But they have not reflected, that at an equal diſtance between Martinico and Guadalupe, there is Dominica, an Engliſh ſettlement, which cannot be avoided, and which overlooks equally the double canal that divides it from the French poſſeſſions. Should the French naval forces be inferior to the Engliſh, the communication would be impracticable, becauſe the reſpective ſuccours would infallibly be intercepted; if, on the contrary, they ſhould be ſuperior, the communication would become uſeleſs, becauſe no invaſion could be apprehended. In either

ther of theſe caſes, the ſyſtem propoſed is chimerical.

It would be very different, if it were neceſſary to carry on offenſive meaſures. The union of the powers belonging to each of theſe iſlands might become uſeful, and even neceſſary, under ſuch circumſtances. In that caſe, the command of the whole would be intruſted to one of the governors, and this command would ceaſe at the concluſion of the projected enterprize.

But is it proper to leave a free trade between the territorial productions of one colony and thoſe of the other? Till the conqueſt of Guadalupe by the Engliſh, the immediate connections of that iſland with the ports of France had been limited to ſix or ſeven veſſels annually. It's proviſions, from motives more or leſs maturely conſidered, were moſtly ſent to Martinico. When, at the period of the reſtitution, the adminiſtration of the two colonies was ſeparated, their trade became likewiſe diſtinct. The communications have ſince been opened again, and are ſtill permitted at this preſent time.

This arrangement is cenſured by ſome people in France. It is neceſſary, ſay they with acrimony, that the colonies ſhould fulfil their deſtination, which is, to conſume a great quantity of merchandize from the mother-country, and to ſend back a great abundance of productions. And yet, notwithſtanding her abilities to fulfil this double obligation, Guadalupe will neither do the one nor the other, as long as ſhe ſhall be allowed to carry her commodities to Martinico.

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This intercourſe will always be the cauſe or the occaſion of an immenſe trade in foreign markets, and at Dominica in particular. This fraudulent trade can only be ſtopped, and the habit of ſmuggling eradicated, by prohibiting this communication.

THESE arguments, which are founded upon motives of private intereſt, ought not to prevent the confirmation of the connections which Guadalupe and Martinico have formed with each other. Liberty is the wiſh of all mankind; and every proprietor hath a natural right to ſell the productions of his ſoil to whom he chuſes, and to as much advantage as he can. This fundamental principle of all well-regulated ſocieties hath been ſet aſide in favour of the mother-country; and it was perhaps neceſſary in the preſent ſtate of affairs. But to be deſirous of extending farther the prohibitions to which the coloniſts are ſubjected; to wiſh to deprive them of the conveniences and advantages which they may derive from a laſting or a temporary communication with their own fellow-citizens, is an act of tyranny which the merchants of France will one day be aſhamed of having ſolicited, and which will never be granted but by an ignorant, corrupt, or weak miniſter. If, as it is pretended, the intercourſe permitted at preſent between the two iſlands, ſhould give part of their commodities to artful and rapacious rivals, government may find ſome fair means of introducing into the kingdom the territorial riches of Guadalupe, and of the ſmall iſlands which are under it's dependence.

DESEADA,

Islands dependent upon Guadalupe.

DESEADA, at the distance of four or five leagues from Guadalupe, is one of these islands. It's territory is exceedingly barren, and is ten leagues in circumference. It reckons but few inhabitants, who are all employed in the culture of a few coffee and cotton trees. It is not know'n at what precise time this settlement was begun, but it is a modern one.

THE Saints, three leagues distant from Guadalupe, are two very small islands, which, with another yet smaller, form a triangle, and have a tolerable harbour. Thirty Frenchmen were sent thither in 1648, but were soon driven away by an excessive drought, which dried up their only spring, before they had time to make any reservoirs. A second attempt was made in 1652, and lasting plantations were established, which now yield fifty thousand weight of coffee, and one hundred thousand of cotton.

AT the distance of six leagues from Guadalupe is Marigalante, which hath fifteen leagues in circumference. The numerous savages by whom it was inhabited, were driven from it in 1648, by the French, who were obliged to sustain and repel several warm attacks, in order to maintain themselves in their usurpation. It hath an excellent soil, upon which a population hath successively been formed, of seven or eight hundred white people, and of six or seven thousand Negroes, most of whom are employed in the culture of sugar.

ST. MARTIN, and St. Bartholomew, are likewise dependent upon Guadalupe, though at the distance

diſtance of forty-five or fifty leagues from it. The former of theſe iſlands hath been ſpoken of in the hiſtory of the Dutch ſettlements. It remains to ſay ſomething of the latter.

It is ſaid to be eleven leagues in circumference. It's mountains are nothing but rocks, and it's vallies nothing but ſands, which are never watered by ſprings or by rivers, and much too ſeldom by the waters of the ſky. It is even deprived of a good harbour, although all geographers have beſtowed this advantage upon it. In 1646, fifty Frenchmen were ſent there from St. Chriſtopher's; they were maſſacred by the Caribs in 1656, and were replaced only three years after. The barrenneſs of the ſoil obliged them to have recourſe to the Guyacum wood, which covered their new country, and of which they made ſome ſmall works, that were in great requeſt. This reſource was ſoon exhauſted, and it was ſucceeded by the care of a few cattle, which ſupplied the neighbouring iſlands. Soon after this, the culture of cotton was introduced; and the crop of this amounts to fifty or ſixty thouſand weight, when not checked by obſtinate droughts, which are very frequent. Till theſe preſent times, the labours have all been carried on by white people; and it is ſtill the only one of the European colonies eſtabliſhed in the New World, where free men do not diſdain to partake of the labours of agriculture with their ſlaves. The numbers of the latter do not exceed four hundred and twenty-ſeven, nor thoſe of the former three hundred and forty-five. The iſland could not, without

without difficulty, maintain a greater number, even in the moſt proſperous times.

THE wretchedneſs of the inhabitants is ſo well know'n, that the enemy's privateers, which frequently put in there, have always paid punctually for what few refreſhments they could ſpare them, though the miſerable inhabitants were too weak to compel them. There is then ſome humanity left even in the breaſt of enemies and pirates; man is not naturally cruel; and only becomes ſo from fear or intereſt. The armed pirate, who plunders a veſſel richly laden, is not deſtitute of equity, nor even of compaſſion for a ſet of poor defenceleſs iſlanders.

Preſent ſtate of Guadadalupe, and of the ſmall iſlands unde it's dependence.

ON the firſt of January 1777, the population of Guadalupe, and of the iſlands more or leſs fertile, under it's dependence, amounted to twelve thouſand ſeven hundred white perſons of all ages, and of both ſexes, thirteen hundred and fifty free Negroes, or Mulattoes, and a hundred thouſand ſlaves; although, in the account of the colony, there were only fourſcore and four thouſand one hundred mentioned.

THEIR cattle conſiſted of nine thouſand two hundred and twenty horſes, or mules, fifteen thouſand ſeven hundred and forty head of horned cattle, and twenty-five thouſand four hundred ſheep, hogs, or goats.

THEIR cultures conſiſted only of four hundred and forty-nine thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-two cacao trees; eleven million nine hundred ſeventy-four thouſand and forty-ſix cotton plants; eighteen million ſeven hundred and ninety-

ninety-nine thouſand ſix hundred and fourſcore coffee trees; and three hundred and eighty-eight ſugar plantations; which occupied twenty-ſix thouſand and eighty-eight ſquares of land.

THEIR government, taxes, and impoſts, were the ſame as at Martinico.

IF theſe frequent calculations be diſguſting to the idle reader, it is hoped that they will not be ſo diſagreeable to political calculators; who, diſcovering, in the population and in the productions of the lands, the exact proportion of the ſtrength of the ſtate will be the better enabled to compare the natural reſources of all nations.

IT is only by a well-regulated regiſter of ſuch a nature, that we can judge, with ſome degree of preciſion, of the preſent ſtate of the maritime and commercial powers that have ſettlements in the New World. The merit of the work, in this point, conſiſts in it's accuracy; and ſome allowances ought, perhaps, to be made to the author, for the want of embelliſhments, in favour of the uſeful information which is ſubſtituted to them. There are eloquent deſcriptions, and ingenious repreſentations enough of diſtant countries, which ſerve to amuſe and to deceive the multitude. It is time to appreciate the truth, which reſults from the hiſtory of them, and to be informed, not ſo much of what they have been, as of what they are at preſent: for the hiſtory of what is paſſed, eſpecially from the manner in which it is written, is almoſt as much applicable to future ages, as to the preſent. Let

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me be allowed, therefore, once again to declare, that no man ſhould be ſurpriſed at the numerous repetitions of the quantity of Negroes, of animals, of lands, and of productions; and at details, in a word, which however dry and unentertaining they may be to the mind, are nevertheleſs the natural foundations of ſociety.

GUADALUPE muſt obtain from it's cultures, a very conſiderable maſs of productions, and more conſiderable even than Martinico. It hath a greater number of ſlaves; it employs leſs of them in it's navigation and in it's commerce; it hath placed a number of them upon a ſoil which is inferior to that of it's rival, but great part of which being newly manured, yields more abundant crops, than the grounds which are fatigued by a long continuance of tillage. Accordingly, it is evident, that ſuch of it's plantations as are not devoured by ants, yield an income much ſuperior to that which is obtained at Martinico. Nevertheleſs, eighty-one veſſels of the mother-country did not carry away, in 1775 from this iſland, more than one hundred and eighty-eight thouſand three hundred and eighty-ſix quintals ſix pounds of raw or clayed ſugar, which were ſold in Europe for 7,137,930 livres 16 ſols *; ſixty-three thouſand twenty-nine quintals and two pounds of coffee, which were ſold for 2,993,860 livres 19 ſols †; fourteen hundred thirty-eight quintals and twenty-ſeven pounds of indigo, which were ſold for 1,222,529 livres 10

* 297,413 l. 15 s. 8 d. † 124,744 l. 4 s. 1½ d.

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ſols *; one thouſand twenty-three quintals fifty-nine pounds of cacao, which were ſold for 71,651 livres 6 ſols †; five thouſand one hundred and ninety-three quintals ſeventy-three pounds of cotton, which were ſold for 1,298,437 livres 10 ſols ‡; ſeven hundred and twenty-ſeven hides, which were ſold for 6,973 livres §; ſixteen quintals and fifty-ſix pounds of rope yarn, which were ſold for 16,560 livres ‖; twelve quintals and ſixty-two pounds of black caſſia, which were ſold for 336 livres 15 ſols ten deniers ¶; one hundred and twenty-five quintals of wood, which were ſold for 3,125 livres **. Theſe ſums collectively, amounted to no more than 12,751,404 livres 16 ſols 10 deniers ††.

Some of the productions of the colony were ſent to Martinico. It's molaſſes, and ſome other commodities, were bartered with the Americans, for wood, cattle, flour, and ſalt fiſh: it's cottons were ſent to Dominica, from whence it received ſlaves; and it's ſugars to St. Euſtatius, which paid for them in ſpecie, or with bills of exchange, and with merchandize from the Eaſt Indies.

The vigilance of it's laſt directors hath put ſome ſtop to theſe ſmuggling connections, and the French veſſels intended for the exportation of theſe commodities, have immediately been multiplied. Many of them have been in-

* 50,938 l. 14 s. 7 d.
† 2,985 l. 9 s. 5 d.
‡ 54,101 l. 11 s. 3 d.
§ 290, l. 10 s. 10 d.
‖ 690 l.
¶ About 14 l. 0 s. 8 d.
** 130 l. 4 s. 2 d.
†† About 531,291 l. 14 s. 0½ d.

duced

duced by habit to go to Guadalupe, properly ſo called, and to St. Charles of the Baſſe Terre, where all the cargoes were formerly taken in, although it be but a foreign harbour the acceſs of which is difficult, and in which it is dangerous to remain: but the greateſt number of them go to Pitre Point.

This is a deep, and tolerably ſafe harbour, ſituated at one of the extremities of Grande Terre: it was diſcovered by the Engliſh at the time when they were in poſſeſſion of the colony; and they were employed in rendering it healthy, when they were deprived of this acquiſition by the peace. The court of Verſailles purſued this idea of an enlightened conqueror, and, without delay, had the plan of a town traced, which hath rapidly increaſed. Nature, the winds, the bearing of the coaſts, all ſeem to concur in concentrating in this ſtaple, almoſt the whole trade of ſo beautiful a poſſeſſion. St. Charles can preſerve no more trade than it can be ſupplied with from the fine ſugars of the Three Rivers collected, and from the coffees which are gathered in the diſtricts of the Bailiff, of Deſhays, of Bouillante, and of Pointe Noire. This town will, however, continue to be the ſeat of government, ſince the forces of the colony, and the fortifications are there.

If ſome obſervers are to be believed, the colony muſt expect to decline. That part of it which is called Guadalupe, and hath been cultivated for a long time, is not ſuſceptible, ſay they, of much improvement. On the other hand, they

affirm, that Grande Terre will not ſupport itſelf in the flouriſhing ſtate to which a fortunate hazard hath brought it. That vaſt ſpace, which was almoſt entirely covered with briars, ſeventeen or eighteen years ago, and which furniſhes at preſent three fifths of the territorial riches, hath not a good ſoil. It's ſugars are of a very inferior quality; it is deſtitute of foreſts, of dews, and of rivers, and is expoſed to frequent droughts, which deſtroy it's cattle, and it's productions: calamities which cannot but be increaſed by time.

We are very far from adopting theſe anxieties; and our readers may judge of the reaſons we have for our ſecurity. The calamities of an unfortunate war, had almoſt anihilated Guadalupe. But ſcarce had it ſubmitted to a foreign yoke, in 1759, than it's planters haſtened to reſtore the ruins of their manufactures, in order to profit by the high price which the conquerors put upon their productions. The three years ſubſequent to it's reſtitution, were employed in the reſtoration of the buildings, that had been conſtructed with precipitation. In the years 1767 and 1768, the roads of the colony were all mended, and an eaſy communication was opened between Guadalupe and Grande Terre, by means of two cauſeways of three thouſand toiſes each, which it was neceſſary to raiſe in the moraſſes. Before, and after this period, conſiderable fortifications, and more than one hundred batteries were erected upon the coaſts. Theſe labours have deprived the lands, for a long while, of part of the hands deſtined to

fertilize

fertilize them. At preſent, that the ſlaves are all reſtored to their manufactures, is it not fortunately a neceſſary conſequence, that the commodities ſhould increaſe?

The colony hath ſtill other reaſons to expect a rapid advancement. It hath ſome territories which have not yet been manured; and thoſe which are already cultivated, are capable of improvement. It's debts are not conſiderable. With fewer wants than the ſettlements have, where opulence hath for a long time multiplied propenſities and deſires, it can beſtow more upon the improvement of it's cultures. The Engliſh iſlands will continue to furniſh it with ſlaves, if the French navigators ſtill limit themſelves to convey to it annually no more than five or ſix hundred, as they have hitherto done. All theſe circumſtances united, ſuggeſt the idea that Guadalupe will ſoon riſe of itſelf to the height of it's proſperity, without the aſſiſtance, and notwithſtanding the ſhackles of government.

Meaſures taken by France to preſerve Guadalupe from invaſion.

But can France be aſſured of enjoying a long and quiet poſſeſſion of this iſland? If the enemy that might attack the colony, choſe only to plunder the Grande Terre, and to carry off the ſlaves and cattle from thence, it would be impoſſible to prevent this, or even to retaliate, unleſs an army were oppoſed to them. Fort Lewis, which defends this part of the ſettlement, is but a wretched ſtar-fort, incapable of much reſiſtance. All that could poſſibly be expected, would be to prevent the devaſtation from extending any further. The nature of the country preſents ſeveral ſitua-

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tions, ſome more favourable than others, by which the progreſs of an aſſailant may be ſecurely ſtopped, whatever his courage or his forces may be. He would, therefore, be forced to reimbark and proceed to the attack of what is properly called Guadalupe.

The landing of the enemy could be effected nowhere but at the bay of the Three Rivers, and and at that of the Bailiff; or rather theſe two places would be moſt favourable to the ſucceſs of his enterpriſe; becauſe they would bring him nearer than any other to Fort St. Charles of the Baſſe Terre, where he would have leſs difficulties to encounter.

Let the enemy chuſe whichever of theſe landings they prefer, they will find nothing more than a ſpot covered with trees, interſected with rivers, hollow ways, narrow paſſes, and ſteep aſcents, which they muſt march over expoſed to the French fire. When, by the ſuperiority of their forces, they have ſurmounted theſe difficulties, they will be ſtopped by the eminence of the great camp. This is a platform ſurrounded by nature with the river Galleon, and with dreadful ravines, to which art hath added parapets, barbettes, flanks, and embraſures, to direct the artillery in the moſt advantageous manner. This intrenchment, though formidable, muſt be forced. It is not to be imagined that an intelligent general would ever leave ſuch a poſt as this behind him; his convoys would be too much expoſed, and he would not get up what would

be neceſſary for carrying on the ſiege of Fort St. Charles without much difficulty.

If thoſe who were firſt employed in fortifying Guadalupe, had underſtood the art of war, or even been only engineers, they would not have failed chuſing the poſition between the river of the Great Bay and that of Galleon, for erecting their fortifications. The place then would have had towards the ſea-ſide a front, that would have incloſed a harbour capable of containing forty ſail of ſhips, which would have annoyed the enemy's fleet, without being themſelves in the leaſt expoſed. The fronts towards the river Galleon and that of the Great Bay would have been inacceſſible, being placed upon the ſummit of two very ſteep aſcents. The fourth front would have been the only place open to an attack; and it would have been an eaſy matter to ſtrengthen that as much as might have been thought proper.

By chuſing the preſent poſition of Fort St. Charles, the works, which were conſtructed there, ought at leaſt to have flanked each other from the ſea, and from the heights. But the principles of fortification were ſo much neglected, that the fire was pointed entirely in a wrong direction, that the internal works were in all parts open to the view, and that the revetments might be battered from the bottom.

Such was the condition of Fort St. Charles, when, in 1764, it was thought proper to put it in a ſtate of defence. Perhaps, it might have been beſt to deſtroy it totally, and to place the new

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fortifications on the poſition juſt pointed out. It was however thought neceſſary to cover the bad fort, conſtructed by unſkilful perſons, with out-works; adding two baſtions towards the ſea-ſide; a good covered-way, which goes all round, together with a glacis, partly cut and partly in a gentle ſlope; two large places of arms with re-entering angles, having each a good redoubt, and behind theſe, good tenailles, with caponieres and poſterns of communication with the body of the place; two redoubts, one on the prolongation of the capital of one of the two places of arms, and the other at the extremity of an excellent intrenchment made along the river Galleon, the platform of which is defended by the cannon from another intrenchment made on the top of the bank of the other ſide of the ſame river; large and deep ditches, a reſervoir for water, and a powder magazine, bomb proof; in a word, a ſufficient quantity of works under ground to lodge a third part of the garriſon. All theſe out-works, well contrived, being added to the fort, will enable an active and experienced commander to hold out a ſiege of two months, and perhaps more. But whatever may be the reſiſtance that Guadalupe can oppoſe to the attacks of the enemy, it is time to paſs on to St. Domingo.

Short deſcription of the iſland of St. Domingo.

THIS iſland is one hundred and ſixty leagues in length; it's main breadth is about thirty; and it's circumference three hundred and fifty, or ſix hundred in coaſting round the ſeveral bays. It is parted lengthways, from Eaſt to Weſt, by a ridge

ridge of mountains, from which gold was extracted, before the continent of America had diſcloſed mines infinitely richer.

The navigator who draws near to, or who approaches the Spaniſh part of the iſland, perceives nothing but an irregular maſs of lands, heaped one upon another, covered with trees, and divided towards the ſea-ſide by bays or promontories; but he is indemnified for this proſpect, which is none of the moſt agreeable, by the perfume of the flowers of Acacia, and of the orange and lemon trees, which are conveyed to him every morning and evening, from the midſt of the woods, by the land breezes.

The French part of the coaſt, although cultivated, doth not exhibit a much more ſmiling aſpect. There is a ſameneſs in all the horizon; the ſame accidents of nature, the ſame cultures, the ſame colours, and the ſame edifices preſent themſelves on all ſides. The eye, fatigued, cannot fix itſelf on any ſpot, without meeting with the ſame object, and without ſeeing what it had ſeen before. There is only the northern part, which being full of rich plantations, from the ſea-ſide to the tops of the hills, exhibits a proſpect worthy of ſome attention. This is the only landſcape in the iſland; but it cannot be compared to thoſe in Europe, where nature and art abound much more in intereſting beauties.

The heats are always conſiderable in the plains. Although the temperature of the vallies depend partly upon their opening to the Eaſt or to the

Weſt,

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Weſt, it may be ſaid in general, that the air, which is damp and freſh before and after ſun-ſet, is very hot in the courſe of the day. The difference of climate is indeed only to be felt upon the mountains; where the thermometer is at ſeventeen degrees, in the ſhade, when, with the ſame expoſure, it riſes to twenty-five, in the plain.

Some French adventurers take refuge at St. Domingo.

SPAIN was the ſole and uſeleſs proprietor of this large poſſeſſion, when ſome Engliſh and French, who had been driven out of St. Chriſtopher's, took refuge there in 1630. Though the northern coaſt, where they firſt ſettled, was in a manner forſaken, they conſidered, that being liable to be attacked by a common enemy, it was but prudent to ſecure a retreat. For this purpoſe they pitched upon Tortuga, a ſmall iſland within two leagues of the great one; and twenty-five Spaniards, who were left to guard it, retired on the firſt ſummons.

THE adventurers of both nations, now abſolute maſters of an iſland eight leagues long and two broad, found a pure air, but no river, and few ſprings. The mountains were covered with valuable woods, and the fertile plains only wanted the hand of the cultivator. The northern coaſt appeared to be inacceſſible; but the ſouthern had an excellent harbour commanded by a rock, which required only a battery of cannon to defend the entrance of the iſland.

THIS happy ſituation ſoon brought to Tortuga a multitude of thoſe people who are in ſearch either of fortune or liberty. The moſt moderate

applied

applied themſelves to the culture of tobacco, which grew into repute, while the more active went to hunt the buffaloes at St. Domingo, and ſold their hides to the Dutch. The moſt intrepid went out to cruize, and performed ſuch bold exploits as will be long remembered.

THIS ſettlement alarmed the court of Madrid. Judging, by the loſſes they had already ſuſtained, of the misfortunes they had ſtill to expect, they gave orders for the deſtruction of the new colony. The general of the galleons choſe, for executing his commiſſion, the time when the brave inhabitants of Tortuga were out at ſea or a hunting, and, with that barbarity which was then ſo familiar to his nation, hanged or put to the ſword all thoſe who were left at home. He then withdrew, without leaving any garriſon, fully perſuaded that ſuch a precaution was needleſs, after the vengeance he had taken. But he ſoon found that cruelty is not the method to ſecure dominion.

THE adventurers, informed of what had paſſed at Tortuga, and hearing at the ſame time that a body of five hundred men, deſtined to haraſs them, was getting ready at St. Domingo, judged that the only way to eſcape the impending ruin, was to put an end to that anarchy in which they lived. They, therefore, gave up perſonal independence to ſocial ſafety, and made choice of one Willis to be at their head; an Engliſhman, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf on many occaſions by his prudence and valour. Under the guidance of this chief, at the latter end of 1638, they retook an iſland which they had poſſeſſed for eight years,

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years, and fortified it, that they might not loſe it again.

THE French ſoon felt the effects of national partiality. Willis having ſent for as many of his countrymen as would enable him to give the law, treated the reſt as ſubjects. Such is the natural progreſs of dominion; in this manner moſt monarchies have been formed. Companions in exile, war, or piracy, have choſen a leader, who ſoon uſurps the authority of a maſter. At firſt he ſhares the power or the ſpoils with the ſtrongeſt; till the multitude, cruſhed by the few, embolden the chief to aſſume the whole power to himſelf; and then monarchy degenerates into deſpotiſm. But ſuch a ſeries of revolutions can only take place in many years in great ſtates. An iſland of ſixteen leagues ſquare is not calculated to be peopled only with ſlaves. The commander De Poincy, governor-general of the Windward Iſlands, being informed of the tyranny of Willis, immediately ſent forty Frenchmen from St. Chriſtopher's, who collected fifty more on the coaſt of St. Domingo. They landed at Tortuga; and, having joined their conntrymen on the iſland, they altogether ſummoned the Engliſh to withdraw. The Engliſh, diſconcerted at ſuch an unexpected and vigorous action, and not doubting but that ſo much haughtineſs was ſupported by a much greater force than it really was, evacuated the iſland, and never returned.

THE Spaniards were not ſo tractable. They ſuffered ſo much from the depredations of the pirates who were daily ſent out from Tortuga,

that they thought their peace, their honour, and their intereſt, were equally concerned in getting that iſland once more in their own power. Three times they recovered it, and were three times driven out again. At laſt it remained in the hands of the French, in 1659, who evacuated it when they were firmly eſtabliſhed at St. Domingo, but without giving up the property of it. The government have always draw'n from thence the woods neceſſary for ſhip-building, for the uſe of the artillery, and for the troops, till a rapacious miniſter took the iſland out of the hands of the treaſury, in order to increaſe his family inheritance with it.

THEIR progreſs, however, was but ſlow; and they firſt attracted the attention of the mother-country in 1665. Huntſmen, indeed, and pirates were continually ſeen hovering about from one iſland to another; but the number of planters, who were properly the only coloniſts, was exceedingly limited. The government was ſenſible how neceſſary it was to multiply them; and the care of this difficult work was committed to a gentleman of Anjou, named Bertrand Dogeron.

The court of Verſailles acknowleged theſe enterprifing men, when they had acquired ſome ſtability, and gave them a governor.

THIS man, whom nature had formed to be great in himſelf, independent of the ſmiles or frowns of fortune, had ſerved fifteen years in the marines, when he went over to America in 1656. With the beſt-contrived plans, he failed in his firſt attempts; but the fortitude he ſhewed in his misfortunes, made his virtues the more conſpicuous; and the expedients he found out to extricate himſelf, heightened the opinion already entertained

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tertained of his genius. The eſteem and attachment, he had inſpired the French with at St. Domingo and Tortuga, induced the government to intruſt him with the care of directing, or rather of ſettling, that colony.

THE execution of this project was full of difficulties. It was neceſſary to eſtabliſh the regularity of ſociety upon the ruins of a ferocious anarchy; to ſubject the uncontrouled ſpirit of plunder to the ſacred and ſevere authority of the laws; to revive ſentiments of humanity in men hardened by the habit of crimes; to ſubſtitute the innocent inſtruments of agriculture to the deſtructive weapons of murder; to incite to a laborious life, barbarians accuſtomed to idleneſs, which is the general attendant upon rapine; to inſpire violent men with patience; to induce them to prefer the tardy fruits of obſtinate labour to rapid enjoyments, acquired by ſudden exertions; to ſubſtitute a propenſity for peace to the thirſt of blood; to inſtill the fear of danger in the mind of him who delighted to expoſe himſelf to it, and the love of life in him who deſpiſed it; it was neceſſary, in a word, that men who had never reſpected any thing, and who had always traded freely with all nations, ſhould be prevailed upon to reſpect the privileges of an excluſive company formed in 1664, for all the French ſettlements. When all this was effected, it then became neceſſary to allure, by the ſweets of a well-regulated government, new inhabitants into a country which had been traduced as a bad climate,

climate, and which was not yet know'n to be ſo fertile as it really was.

DOGERON, contrary to the general opinion, was in hopes he ſhould ſucceed. A long intercourſe with men he was to govern, had taught him how they were to be dealt with; and his ſagacity could ſuggeſt, or his honeſt ſoul adopt no method of engaging them, but what was noble and juſt. The free-booters were determined to go in ſearch of more advantageous latitudes; he detained them, by relinquiſhing to them that ſhare of the booty which his poſt entitled him to, and by obtaining for them from Portugal commiſſions for attacking the Spaniards, even after they had made peace with France. This was the only method to make theſe men friends to their country, who otherwiſe would have turned enemies, rather than have renounced the hopes of plunder. The buccaneers, or huntſmen, who only wiſhed to raiſe a ſufficiency to erect habitations, found him ready to advance them money without intereſt, or to procure them ſome by his credit. As for the planters, whom he preferred to all the other coloniſts, he gave them every poſſible encouragement within the power of his induſtrious activity.

THESE happy alterations required only to be made permanent. The governor wiſely conſidered, that women could alone perpetuate the happineſs of the men, and the welfare of the colony, by promoting population. This was a natural one; but it was neceſſary to conſider what kind of women they muſt have been, from whom ſuch

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ſuch pleaſing effects could have been expected. Women born of honeſt parents, and well educated; prudent and induſtrious women, who would one day become good wives and affectionate mothers. The total want of one ſex, in the new ſettlement, condemned the other to celibacy. Dogeron thought of remedying this kind of indigence, which is the moſt difficult of any to bear, and which plunges a man into a ſtate of melancholy, and inſpires him with a diſguſt for life, deprived, for him, of it's moſt powerful attraction. Fifty young women were ſent over to him from France, and were ſoon diſpoſed of at a very high price. Soon after, a like number arrived, and were obtained on ſtill higher terms. They were ſold as ſo many ſlaves, and bought as any common merchandize. It was money, and not the choice of their heart, that decided their lot. What expectations could be formed, from alliances thus contracted? And yet this was the only way to gratify the moſt impetuous of all paſſions without quarrels, and to propagate the human race without bloodſhed. All the inhabitants expected to have female companions from their own country, to alleviate and to ſhare their fate. But they were diſappointed; none were afterwards ſent over, except abandoned women, vile and deſpicable wretches, who embarked with all the vices of the mind, and the diſeaſes of the body, that are attached to an abject condition, which they were far from being aſhamed of, ſince they ſhewed not the leaſt reluctance to engage themſelves for three years in the ſervice

of

of the men. This method of loading the colony with the refuſe of the mother-country, introduced ſuch a profligacy of manners, that it became neceſſary to put a ſtop to ſo dangerous an expedient, but without ſubſtituting a better. By this neglect, St. Domingo loſt a great many brave men, who could not live happy there, and was deprived of an increaſe of population, which might have proceeded from the coloniſts, who ſtill preſerved their attachment to the iſland. The colony has long felt, and, perhaps, feels to this day, the effects of ſo capital an error.

Notwithstanding this error, Dogeron found means to increaſe the number of planters to fifteen hundred in four years time, when there were only four hundred at his firſt coming. His ſucceſſes were daily increaſing; when they were ſuddenly ſtopped, in 1670, by an inſurrection, which put the whole colony in a ferment. He did not incur the leaſt cenſure for this unfortunate accident, in which he certainly had no ſhare.

When this worthy man was appointed by the court of France to the government of Tortuga and St. Domingo, he could only prevail upon the inhabitants to acknowlege his authority, by giving them hopes that the ports under his juriſdiction ſhould be open to foreigners. Yet ſuch was the aſcendent he gained over their minds, that by degrees he eſtabliſhed in the colony the excluſive privilege of the company; which, in time, engroſſed the whole trade. But this company became ſo elated with proſperity, as to be guilty of the injuſtice of ſelling their goods for

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two-thirds more than had till then been paid to the Dutch. So deſtructive a monopoly revolted the inhabitants. They took up arms; and it was but a year after, that they laid them down, upon condition that all French ſhips ſhould be free to trade with them, paying five per cent. to the company at coming in and going out. Dogeron, who brought about this accommodation, availed himſelf of that circumſtance to procure ſhips, ſeemingly deſtined to convey his crops into Europe, but which in fact were more the property of his coloniſts than his own. Every one ſhipped his own commodities on board, allowing a moderate freight. On the return of the veſſel, the generous governor cauſed the cargo to be expoſed to public view, and every one took what he wanted, not only at prime coſt, but upon truſt, without intereſt, and even without notes of hand. Dogeron had imagined he ſhould inſpire them with ſentiments of probity and greatneſs of ſoul, by taking no other ſecurity than their word. By this conduct, he exemplified how well he was acquainted with the human heart. The man whom we have degraded in his ſelf-eſtimation, by miſtruſting him, having nothing to loſe in our minds, will not ſcruple to ſhew himſelf occaſionally a rogue, a baſe villain, a traitor, an impoſtor, ſuch as he really is, or even perhaps ſuch as he is not, but ſuch as he knows you think him to be; while the man, for whom we ſhall have ſhew'n ſome ſhare of eſteem, will not debaſe himſelf if he ſhould have deſerved it, and will pique himſelf upon his honour, if he ſhould not. To impute

impute virtues or vices to men, is frequently the way to inſpire them with either. In the midſt of theſe parental offices Dogeron was cut off by death in 1675.

Miniſters and depoſitaries of the royal authority, inſtead of thoſe long and uſeleſs inſtructions draw'n by clerks, as ignorant as they are rapacious, and ſent to the perſons whom you intend for the government of the colonies, who receive them with the utmoſt contempt; get the life of Dogeron written for their uſe, and let it be concluded with theſe words: Poſſess the virtues of this man, and let your conduct conform itſelf to his.

O Dogeron! thy neglected remains repoſe, perhaps, in ſome unknow'n part of St. Domingo, or of Tortuga. But if thy memory be extinct in thoſe countries, if thy name, tranſmitted from fathers to children, be not pronounced with emotion; the deſcendents of thoſe coloniſts, whoſe felicity you inſured by your talents, by your diſintereſtedneſs, by your courage, by your patience, and by your labours, are ungrateful people, who do not deſerve better governors than moſt of thoſe who are ſent to them.

Dogeron left no other inheritance than an example of patriotiſm, and of every humane and ſocial virtue. Pouancey ſucceeded him. With the ſame qualifications as his uncle, he was not ſo great a man; becauſe he followed his ſteps more from imitation, than from natural diſpoſition. Yet the undiſcerning multitude placed an equal confidence in both; and both had the honour

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and happineſs to eſtabliſh the colony upon a firm footing, without laws and without ſoldiers. Their natural good ſenſe, and their known integrity, determined all differences to the ſatisfaction of both parties; and public order was maintained by that authority which is the natural conſequence of perſonal merit.

So wiſe a conſtitution could not be laſting; it required too much virtue to make it ſo. In 1684 there was ſo viſible an alteration, that, in order to eſtabliſh a due ſubordination at St. Domingo, two adminiſtrators were called in from Martinico, where good policy was already in a great meaſure ſettled. Theſe legiſlators appointed courts of judicature in the ſeveral diſtricts, accountable to a ſuperior council at Little Guave. In proceſs of time this juriſdiction growing too extenſive, a like tribunal was erected in 1701, at Cape St. Francis, for the northern diſtricts.

All theſe innovations could hardly be introduced without ſome oppoſition. It was to be feared that the hunters and pirates, who compoſed the bulk of the people, averſe from the reſtraints that were going to be laid upon them, would go over to the Spaniards and to Jamaica, allured by the proſpect of great advantages. The planters themſelves were under ſome temptation of this kind, as their trade was clogged with ſo many reſtrictions, that they were forced to ſell their commodities at a very low price. The former were gained by perſuaſions; the latter by the proſpect of a change in their ſituation, which was truly deſperate.

Skins

SKINS had been the firſt article of exportation from St. Domingo, as being the only things the Buccaneers brought home. Tobacco was afterwards added by culture; and it was ſold to great advantage to all nations. This trade was ſoon confined by an excluſive company; which, indeed, was in a ſhort time aboliſhed, but with no advantage for the ſale of tobacco, ſince that was farmed out. The inhabitants, hoping to meet with ſome indulgence from government, as a reward for their ſubmiſſion, offered to give the king a fourth part of all the tobacco they ſhould ſend into the kingdom, free of all charge, even of freight, upon condition they ſhould have the entire diſpoſal of the other three-fourths. They made it appear, that this method would bring in a clearer profit to the revenue than the forty ſols* per cent. which were paid by the farmer. Private intereſts oppoſed ſo reaſonable a propoſal.

IN circumſtances ſuch as theſe, I am always aſtoniſhed at the patience of the oppreſſed people. I ſay to myſelf, why do they not all aſſemble together at the houſe of the member of adminiſtration appointed to govern them, and addreſs him in the following terms: "We are weary of an "authority which vexes us. Retire from our "country, and tell the perſon whoſe repreſen-"tative you are, that we are no rebels, be-"cauſe no rebellion can exiſt unleſs it be againſt "a good king, and that he is only a tyrant

* 1s. 8d.

"againſt whom we have a right to revolt. You "may add, that if he ſhould be deſirous of poſ- "ſeſſing a deſert country he will ſoon be ſatis- "fied; for that we are all determined to periſh, "rather than live any longer miſerable under an "unjuſt government." The coloniſts did not give way to the ſuggeſtions of deſpair, but in their reſentment they timed their induſtry with ſucceſs to the culture of indigo and cocoa. Cotton was a very promiſing article, becauſe it had in former times greatly enriched the Spaniards; but they ſoon gave it up, for what reaſon is not know'n; and in a few years not a ſingle cotton plant was to be ſeen.

TILL then the labours had all been performed by hirelings, and by the pooreſt of the inhabitants. Some ſucceſsful expeditions againſt the Spaniards, procured them a few Negroes. The number was increaſed by two or three French ſhips, and much more by prizes taken from the Engliſh during the war of 1688; by an invaſion of Jamaica, from whence the French brought away three thouſand blacks, in 1694. Without ſlaves, the culture of ſugar could not be undertaken; but they alone were not ſufficient. Money was wanting to erect buildings, and to purchaſe utenſils. The profit ſome inhabitants made with the free-booters, who were always ſucceſsful in their expeditions, enabled them to employ the ſlaves. They therefore undertook the planting of the canes, which convey the gold of Mexico to thoſe nations whoſe only mines are fruitful lands.

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A company is eſtabliſhed for the ſouthern part of St. Domingo.

But the colony, which, though it had loſt ſome of it's Europeans, had ſtill made a progreſs to the north and weſt, amidſt the devaſtations that preceded the peace of Ryſwick, was yet but little advanced to the ſouth. This part did not reckon a hundred inhabitants, all living in huts, and all extremely wretched. The government could fix upon no better expedient, to make ſome advantage of ſo extenſive and ſo fine a country, than to grant, in 1698, for the ſpace of half a century, the property of it to a company, which took the name of *St. Louis*.

This company engaged, under the penalty of forfeiting their charter, to form a capital of 1,200,000 livres *, and to convey, in the courſe of the five firſt years, upon the lands granted to them, fifteen hundred white people, and two thouſand five hundred Negroes, with one hundred of the former and two hundred of the latter each of the following years: they were to diſtribute lands to whoever ſhould be deſirous of them. Each perſon, according to his wants and abilities, obtained ſlaves that were to be paid for in three years; the men at the rate of ſix hundred livres †; and the women at the rate of four hundred and fifty livres ‡. The ſame credit was allowed for merchandize.

Upon theſe conditions, the charter inſured to the new ſociety the excluſive right of buying and ſelling throughout the whole territory aſſign-

* 50,000 l. † 25 l. ‡ 18 l. 15 s.

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ed to them, but at the prices only that were settled in the other parts of the island. Even this dependence, oppressive to the colonist, was still alleviated, by allowing him to take, where he thought proper, whatever he was left in want of, and to pay out of his provisions whatever he might have occasion to buy.

Monopoly, as a torrent that is lost in the abyss itself has made, works it's own ruin by it's rapaciousness. The company of St. Louis affords an instance, among many others, of the defects and abuses of exclusive associations. It was ruined by the knavery and extravagance of it's agents; nor was the territory committed to it's care the better, for all these losses. The plantations and people that were found there, when the company gave up her rights to the government in 1720, were chiefly owen to the contraband traders.

The colony of St. Domingo becomes the most flourishing settlement in the New World, notwithstanding the calamities it experiences.

It was during the long and bloody war begun on account of the Spanish succession, that this attempt had been made towards the improvement of the colony. It might have been expected to have made a speedy progress, when tranquillity was restored to both nations by the peace of Utrecht. These happy prospects were blasted by one of those calamities which it is not in the power of man to foresee. All the cocoa-trees upon the colony died in 1715. Dogeron had planted the first in 1665. In process of time they had increased; especially in the narrow valleys to the westward. There were no less than twenty thousand upon some plantations; so that, though cocoa sold for no

more

more than five ſols* a pound, it was become a plentiful ſource of wealth.

CULTIVATIONS of greater importance amply compenſated this loſs, when a circumſtance of the moſt diſtreſſing nature threw the whole colony into conſternation. A conſiderable number of it's inhabitants, who had devoted twenty years labour in a burning climate, to lay up a competency to ſpend a comfortable old age in their native country, were returned to it, with a ſufficient fortune to enable them to diſcharge their debts, and purchaſe eſtates. Their commodities were paid them in bank notes, which proved uſeleſs to them. This fatal calamity obliged them to return poor into an iſland from whence they had departed rich; and reduced them, in their old age, to ſolicit employment from the very people who had formerly been their ſervants. The ſight of ſo many unfortunate perſons inſpired a general deteſtation for the India Company, which was conſidered as accountable for theſe calamities. This averſion, raiſed by mere compaſſion, was ſoon changed into a profound hatred, and not without ſufficient reaſon.

THE French colonies, ſince their eſtabliſhment, received their ſlaves from the hands of the monopoly, and conſequently received but few, and at an exorbitant price. Being reduced in 1713 to the impoſſibility of continuing their languid operations, the company themſelves made the private merchants partners in their trade, upon

* Two pence halfpenny.

condition that they ſhould pay 15 livres * for every Negro they ſhould carry to the Windward Iſlands, and 30 livres † for thoſe whom they ſhould introduce into St. Domingo. This new arrangement was followed by ſo great a degree of activity, that the government were at length induced to give up excluſive privileges, by granting in 1716 the Guinea trade to the ports of Rouen, of Bourdeaux, of Nantz, and of La Rochelle. It was to coſt them two piſtoles ‡ for every ſlave who ſhould arrive in America; but the commodities which were to be acquired by the ſale of theſe unfortunate people, were exonerated from one half of the duties to which the other productions were ſubject. The inhabitants were juſt beginning to feel the good effects of this liberty, imperfect as it was, ſince it was confined to four ports, when St. Domingo was condemned again to receive it's planters from the India Company, who were not even obliged to furniſh them with more than two thouſand every year. We cannot, indeed, determine which is the moſt aſtoniſhing circumſtance in the courſe of the events relative to the New World, either the rage of the firſt conquerors who laid it waſte, or the ſtupidity of the governments, which by a ſeries of abſurd regulations, ſeem to have propoſed to themſelves either to perpetuate the miſery of the inhabitants, or to plunge them again into that ſtate, whenever they entertained hopes of emerging from it.

* 12 s. 6d. † 1 l. 5 s. ‡ 16 s. 8 d.

In 1722, the agents of this odious company arrived in the colony. The buildings where they tranſacted their buſineſs were burnt to the ground. The ſhips that came to them from Africa were either denied admittance into the harbour, or not ſuffered to diſpoſe of their cargoes. The chief governor, who endeavoured to oppoſe theſe diſturbances, ſaw his authority deſpiſed, and his orders diſobeyed, as they were not enforced by any compulſive power: he was even put under arreſt. Every part of the iſland reſounded with the clamours of ſedition, and the noiſe of arms. It is difficult to ſay how far theſe exceſſes would have been carried, had not government had the prudence to make conceſſions. In this one inſtance, the people did not ſuffer for the folly of their rulers; and the duke of Orleans convinced mankind, upon this occaſion, that he was above the ordinary ſtamp of men, by avowing himſelf the author of a rebellion which he had excited by a defective inſtitution, and which, under a ruler leſs enlightened or leſs moderate, would have been ſeverely puniſhed. After two years of trouble and confuſion, the inconveniencies reſulting from anarchy diſpoſed the minds of all parties to peace, and tranquillity was reſtored without having recourſe to violent meaſures.

From that period, no colony ever ſo much improved it's time as that of St. Domingo. It advanced with the utmoſt rapidity to a proſperous ſtate. The two unfortunate wars which annoyed it's ſeas, have only ſerved to compreſs it's ſtrength, which has increaſed the more ſince the ceſſation of hoſtilities.

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hoſtilities. A wound is ſoon healed when the conſtitution is ſound. Diſeaſes themſelves, in the ſtate, as well as in the body, are a kind of remedies, which, by the expulſion of the vitiated humours, add new vigour to a robuſt habit of body. Thoſe diſorders that are fatal to either the one or the other, are ſuch as being ſlow in their progreſs, keep them in a ſtate of perpetual indiſpoſition, and lead them imperceptibly to the grave. But after diſeaſes that are acute have brought on a violent criſis, the delirium ceaſes and the debility goes off; and as the ſtrength is reſtored, a more regular and uniform motion is eſtabliſhed, which promiſes a laſting duration to the machine. So war ſeems to ſtrengthen and ſupport national ſpirit in many ſtates of Europe, which might be enervated and corrupted by the proſperity of commerce, and the enjoyments of luxury. The immenſe loſſes which almoſt equally attend victory and defeat, excite induſtry, and quicken labour. Nations will recover their former ſplendour, provided their rulers will let them follow their own bent, and not pretend to direct their ſteps. This principle is peculiarly applicable to France, where nothing more is requiſite to proſperity than to give a free courſe to the activity of the inhabitants. Wherever nature leaves them at full liberty, they ſucceed in giving her powers their full ſcope. St. Domingo affords a ſtriking inſtance of what may be expected from a good ſoil, and an advantageous ſituation, in the hands of Frenchmen.

Settlements formed in the ſouthern part of St. Domingo.

THE Southern part, which is occupied by France, extends from Pitre Point to Cape Tiburon. At the period of their conqueſts in the New World, the Spaniards had built upon this coaſt two large villages, which they forſook in leſs proſperous times. The vacated places were not immediately occupied by the French, who muſt be apprehenſive of the vicinity of St. Domingo, where the chief force of that power, upon whoſe ruin they were riſing, was concentrated. Their privateers, who commonly aſſembled at the little iſland called Vache Iſland, to cruize upon the Caſtilians, and divide their ſpoils, encouraged ſome planters to begin a ſmall ſettlement upon the continent in 1673. It was ſoon deſtroyed, nor was it reſumed 'till a conſiderable time after. The company appointed to ſettle and extend this colony did not fulfil their obligations. It's progreſs was owen to the Engliſh of Jamaica, and to the Dutch of Curaſſou, who having reſolved to carry ſlaves to this place, bought up the produce of a land, which they themſelves alone contributed to improve. It was not 'till 1740, that the merchants of the mother-country began to attend to this ſettlement. From this period they frequent this part of the colony a little, notwithſtanding the winds, which often render the ſailing out of this road tedious and difficult.

THE part which is to the Eaſt of all the reſt is called Jaquemel. It conſiſts of three pariſhes, which occupy thirty ſix leagues of the coaſt, and run into a moderate and very unequal degree of depth. This vaſt ſpace is filled up with ſixty

plantations

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plantations of coffee, ſixty-two of indigo, and ſixty of cotton. Moſt of their planters are poor, and can never grow very rich. A ſoil, which is in general full of hills, ſtony, and expoſed to droughts, prevents them from aſpiring to wealth. This can only be done by thoſe who divide the plain of Jaquemel. There are twenty very ſpacious habitations, of which ten only are watered, though they be all ſuſceptible of this advantage. It is there, that in an exhauſted ſoil, indigo, which would require a virgin ſoil, is cultivated. When hands, and other means for carrying on an extenſive culture, ſhall no longer be wanting, ſugar will be ſubſtituted to it, which ſucceeds as well as can be deſired, in the only plantation where the coloniſts have begun to cultivate it.

Aquin hath an extent of fifteen leagues along the borders of the ſea, and of three, four, and ſometimes ſix leagues in the inland parts. This ſettlement reckons forty plantations of indigo, twenty of coffee, and nine of cotton. It's mountains, leſs elevated than thoſe which are contiguous to them, on that account enjoy only the benefit of a few ſprings, and a ſmall quantity of rain, and promiſe nothing but great abundance of cotton, which will undoubtedly be one day required of them. With regard to it's plains, they were formerly in a flouriſhing ſtate; but the droughts, which have gradually increaſed in proportion as the country hath been cleared, have diminiſhed more and more the quality of the indigo, which conſtituted all the riches of the colony.

This plant, which leaves the ground almoſt habitually expoſed to the heat of a burning ſun, ſhould be replaced by ſugar, which would keep the earth covered for eighteen months together, and will preſerve in it for a long time the ſmalleſt degree of moiſture. Four of the moſt wealthy inhabitants have already made this change in their plantations. The nature of the ſoil will allow twenty-five coloniſts to follow their example; and they will no doubt reſolve upon it, when they ſhall have acquired the means ſufficient for that purpoſe, and when the waters of the river Serpente ſhall have been prudently diſtributed. In the preſent ſtate of things, all the productions of that diſtrict are collected in one town only, which is far advanced in the inland parts. The impoſſibility of conveying them to the coaſt in the rainy ſeaſons, and the unavoidable expences of the carriage, even in the moſt favourable times, had ſuggeſted the idea of forming this ſtaple upon the borders of a deep bay, where the commodities are ſhipped: but this ſituation doth not afford one acre of ground fit for cultivation; there is no ſweet water to be found in it, and the ſtagnating waters of the ſea corrupt the air. Theſe reaſons have cauſed this project to be laid aſide, for it's inconveniences would be greater than the advantages derived from it.

St. Lewis is a kind of town, which, though built at the beginning of the century, hath no more than fifty houſes. The forming of this ſettlement was determined upon, on account of an exceeding good harbour, even for ſhips of the line.

line. Conſiderable fortifications were erected upon a ſmall iſland, ſituated at the entrance of the harbour, which were deſtroyed by the Engliſh in 1748, and have never ſince been reſtored. The territory of this diſtrict extends five or ſix leagues along the coaſt. It's mountains, covered with acacia wood, are moſt of them ſuſceptible of culture. It's plain, which is uneven, hath ſome fertile ſpots upon it, and it's numerous moraſſes might be dried up. There are no more than twenty plantations of coffee, fifteen of indigo, ſix of cotton, and two of ſugar here. This laſt production would ſucceed in ten or twelve plantations, eſpecially if they were watered by the river St. Lewis, which, it is thought, they might eaſily be.

Cavaillon doth not occupy more than three leagues upon the borders of the ocean. This is a long neck of land, which extends eight or nine leagues up the country. It is divided by a large river, which, in times of heavy rains, unfortunately overflows to a conſiderable diſtance, and occaſions great ravages. At the diſtance of two leagues from it's mouth is a ſmall town, where the veſſels arrive, and where they take in the productions, which are furniſhed by twenty plantations of coffee, ten of indigo, ſix of cotton, and ſeventeen of ſugar. The number of the laſt might be doubled with facility, in a plain which hath five or ſix thouſand ſquares in extent; but the three moſt flouriſhing of thoſe which exiſt, have ſcarce yielded half of what they might produce, and the others only yield a trifling produce, and of a bad quality. The mountains, though

though covered with an excellent ſoil, do not compenſate for this deficiency. The diſtricts granted by government will remain uncultivated, 'till roads ſhall have been made for the conveyance of the productions. This undertaking, which is beyond the means of the inhabitants, ought to be executed by the troops. Idleneſs, and infectious moraſſes, have hitherto deprived the ſoldiers of their induſtry, and have made them periſh upon the banks of the ſea. The freſhneſs of elevated places, the wholeſome air which is breathed there, a moderate ſhare of abour, and the eaſy circumſtances which it would be proper they ſhould enjoy; in a word, all theſe concurring cauſes, would they not maintain hem in their natural ſtrength? would they not nſure their preſervation?

THE plain at the bottom of Vache Iſland conains twenty-five thouſand ſquares, of a ſoil vhich is excellent every where, except in ſome arts that have been covered with gravel by the orrents, and a few moraſſes, which might be ealy dried up. There have been ſucceſſively ormed here, eighty-three ſugar plantations, and here might ſtill be fifty more eſtabliſhed. Thoſe hich exiſt have ſcarce more than one third of heir territory cultivated, and yet they yield an nmenſe quantity of raw ſugar. From this we ay judge how much the whole of the grounds ould furniſh, if they were properly cultivated. One might depend upon a produce ſo much the ore regular, as the rains do not fail ſo often this diſtrict as in the others, and as there are

three rivers running through it, which offer themſelves, as it were, for the watering of all the plantations.

THE ſugar and the indigo which grow in the plain, the coffee and the cotton, which deſcend from the mountains, are all carried to the town of Cayes, formed by near four hundred houſes, which are all built in a marſhy territory, and are moſt of them ſurrounded with ſtagnant waters. The air which is breathed in that place is equally deficient in elaſticity as in ſalubrity.

THIS ſtaple ſeems to have been placed, as it were, fortuitouſly, in the bottom of a ſhallow bay, which grows more and more ſo, and has but three channels. The anchorage is ſo confined, and ſo dangerous during the equinox, that ſhips which happen to be there at that ſeaſon, are frequently loſt. The great quantity of mud brought thither by the waters of a torrent on the ſouth ſide, has increaſed to ſuch a degree, that in twenty years time there will be no entrance. The canal, formed by the vicinity of Vache Iſland, is of no uſe, and only obſtructs the navigation. The creeks in this place are the reſort of the privateers of Jamaica. As they cruize there without ſails, and can obſerve without being ſeen, they always have the advantage of the wind over ſuch veſſels as are hindered by the violence and conſtant ſtruggle of the winds, from paſſing above the iſland. If it were poſſible that any men of war could put into this bad harbour, the impoſſibility of ſurmounting this obſtacle and that of the currents, in order to get to windward of

the iſland, would oblige them to follow the track of merchant ſhips. Doubling, therefore, one after another, the point of Labacou, on account of the ſhoals, theſe ſhips would get between the land and the enemy's fire, with the diſadvantage of the wind, and would infallibly be deſtroyed by an inferior ſquadron.

The town of Cayes is not better than it's harbour. It contains 280 houſes, all ſunk into ſwampy ground, and moſt of them ſurrounded with ſtagnant water. The air of this ſpot is foul and unwholeſome; and on this account, as well as the badneſs of the harbour, it has often been wiſhed by the court of Verſailles, that the trade with the mother-country could be transferred to St. Lewis. But the efforts that have been made to effect this, have hitherto been unſucceſsful; and will for ever be ſo; becauſe it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that exchanges will always be eſtabliſhed on that ſpot where the productions are moſt plentiful, and where the conſumption is greateſt. To pretend to thwart this order of things preſcribed by nature, would be to retard to no purpoſe the progreſs of a good ſettlement. Even the caprices of induſtry ſhould be indulged by government. The leaſt uneaſineſs in the trader creates diſtruſt. Political and military reaſonings will never prevail againſt thoſe of intereſt. Trade only flouriſhes in a ſoil of it's own chuſing. It is alarmed at every kind of reſtraint.

All that the French miniſtry could reaſonably propoſe, would be to withdraw the tribunals from St. Lewis, which neither is, nor ever will be of

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any conſequence, in order to transfer them to Cayes, where the population and the productions, which are already conſiderable, muſt increaſe greatly; to dig a bed for a torrent, the violent overflowings of which frequently occaſion inexpreſſible ravages; and to fortify, and render the town more wholeſome. Both might be effected, by digging a ditch all round the town, and the rubbiſh would ſerve to fill up the marſhes within. The ground being raiſed higher by this contrivance, would conſequently grow drier; the water, which would be brought down by a gentle deſcent from the river into this deep ditch, would, by the aſſiſtance of ſome fortifications, ſecure the town from the attacks of the privateers; and would even afford a temporary defence, and allow time to capitulate with a ſmall ſquadron.

GREATER improvements might and ought to be made. Why not allow a factitious harbour to an important mart, which will ſoon be ſtopped? The merchant ſhips that ſeek ſhelter in what is called the Flemiſh Bay, two leagues to windward of Cayes, ſeem to point out this ſpot as the harbour that this town ſtands in need of. It would contain a conſiderable number of men of war, ſafe from all winds; would afford them ſeveral careening places; would admit of their doubling the Vache Iſland to windward, and enable them to carry on with the town, along-ſide the coaſt, an intercourſe, which, being protected by batteries properly diſpoſed, would keep the privateers in awe. The only inconvenience is, that

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the ſhip-worm is more apt to injure the veſſel in this place than in other parts, on account of the nature of the bottom, and the calmneſs of the ſea.

ABACOU is a peninſula, which was formerly in a flouriſhing ſtate, on account of the abundance and the quality of it's indigo. But ſince this voracious plant hath deſtroyed every principle of vegetation upon the numerous little hillocks of that place, it is no where cultivated with any ſucceſs but upon the borders of the ſea, which are enriched with the ſpoils of the upper grounds. This decreaſe hath determined a certain number of coloniſts to transfer their induſtry to other parts. Thoſe who, either from habit or reaſon, have perſevered in remaining on their plantations, have enlarged them as much as they have found it convenient. They ſtill maintain themſelves by ſuffering part of their grounds to lie fallow, while the other part is cultivated. But this reſource is not equal to what it would be in Europe. This is the opinion of the inhabitants themſelves, who direct their induſtry towards the culture of ſugar, as much as their fortune and their credit will allow them.

IT is upon the cultivated and exhauſted heights of this quarter, that it would be proper to breed cattle. Government were in an error, when they ceded the mountains, upon condition that they ſhould be covered with horned cattle. Beſides that a virgin ſoil could not be reaſonably employed in paſture ground, as it might be rendered more productive to the ſtate; it was impoſſible to

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expect that enterprizing men would make themſelves ſhepherds, when they could derive greater advantages from their grounds, in whatever culture they might employ them. It may even be affirmed, that the cattle will always be infinitely ſcarce at San Domingo, even in theſe places which cannot be employed for any other purpoſe, as long as the monopoly of ſlaughter-houſes ſhall ſubſiſt in the colony.

COTEAUX occupies about ten leagues of the ſhore, and is from two to five leagues in depth. Small creeks are every where found, where it is eaſy to land; but none of them offer a ſecure ſhelter in rough weather. This quarter contains twenty-four plantations of coffee, three of cotton, and ſixty-ſix of indigo. This laſt production hath leſs decreaſed in quantity, and leſs degenerated in quality, at this place, than any where elſe; advantages which muſt be attributed to the nature and to the diſpoſition of the territory. The time, however, doth not ſeem far diſtant, when the borders of the ſea will diſplay fourteen or fifteen ſugar plantations, formed upon the ruins of the antient cultures. Habit, and the facility of obtaining ſlaves by contraband connections, will facilitate this revolution.

TIBURON, which hath ten leagues of extent upon the borders of the ſea, and two, three, or four in the inland parts, terminates this coaſt. The road of this cape doth not offer a ſufficient ſhelter againſt ſtorms; but well-diſpoſed batteries may render it a place of retreat for the French veſſels,

veſſels, which are purſued in time of war in theſe latitudes. This ſettlement hath four habitations for cotton, thirty for indigo, and thirty-ſeven for coffee. Four ſugar plantations have been eſtabliſhed there ſince the peace, and their number may be increaſed to ſixteen.

Means by which the cultures of the ſouthern part of the colony might be improved.

All the ſettlements which we have juſt taken a review of, languiſh in a ſtate of greater or leſs miſery. Accordingly, the ſales and the purchaſes are not made there with metals as in the northern or eaſtern part of the colony. On the ſouthern, the merchandize of Europe is exchanged for the productions of America. This ſavage practice occaſions eternal diſcuſſions, innumerable frauds, and ruinous delays, which keep off the navigators, thoſe eſpecially who carry on the ſlave trade.

It is a fact, which is but too well proved, that the annual loſs of Negroes amounts naturally to one twentieth part of them, and that accidents carry off a fifteenth part. From this circumſtance it follows, that the country we are ſpeaking of, and in which upwards of forty thouſand ſlaves are collected, muſt have ſeen five and twenty thouſand of them die in ten years time. Eight thouſand one hundred and thirty-four Africans, who have been introduced by French privateers from 1763 to 1773, have not certainly been able to fill up this great void. What would then have been the fate of thoſe ſettlements if the ſmuggling trade had not ſupplied the deficiency? But this is not the whole.

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THE ſouthern part of St. Domingo hath a great diſadvantage. The mountains that command it, deprive it, as well as the weſtern coaſt, during the ſpace of about ſix months of the rains of the north and the north-eaſt, which fertiliſe the northern parts of the country. It will then remain untilled or be ill cultivated, till the waters of the rivers ſhall have ſupplied the place of thoſe from the ſky. This operation, which would increaſe the productions by two-thirds, requires a vaſt capital and a great number of ſlaves. The trade of France, whether from inability or miſtruſt doth not furniſh them.

WHAT meaſures ought government to purſue? They ſhould lay open that part of the colony for the ſpace of ten or fifteen years, freely to all foreigners. The Engliſh would carry Negroes to it, and the Dutch would advance money at an intereſt, which might very well be ſuſtained by the cultures of the New World. The ſucceſs of this ſtep would be infallible, if laws were made which ſhould give a proper degree of validity to the credit of the two nations.

Settlements formed to the weſt of St. Domingo.

THE weſtern part of the colony differs greatly from the ſouthern. The firſt ſettlement, of any conſequence, which is found there, is that of Jeremiah, or the Great Bay. It occupies twenty leagues of coaſt, from Cape Tiburon to Petit-trou, and extends from four to ſix leagues in the inland parts. As this diſtrict is ſtill an infant ſettlement, the borders of the ſea only are inhabited, and theſe even very little. All the productions, however, which enrich the reſt of

the iſland are cultivated here. There is alſo one production which is peculiar to it, and this is cacao, which could not ſucceed in more open places; and one hundred thouſand pounds weight are annually gathered. The ſtaple is a ſmall town agreeably built and ſituated upon an eminence, where the air is exceedingly wholeſome. It muſt in time become a conſiderable mart. Unfortunately it hath got a bad harbour; whenever the north winds blow with any degree of violence, the ſhips are obliged either to take refuge at Cape *Dame Marie*, where no meaſures have been taken to protect them, or to ſeek for the iſland of Caymites, which is expoſed to the inroads of the pirates.

The little Guave was formerly in great reputation, which was owen to it's harbour, where ſhips of all ſizes found an excellent anchorage, conveniencies for refitting, and a ſhelter from all winds. It was an aſylum the moſt convenient for adventurers, whoſe only deſign was to appropriate to themſelves the ſpoils of the Spaniſh navigators. This place hath loſt much of it's celebrity ſince cultures have ſucceeded to piracy; it owes the ſmall degree of conſideration it ſtill retains to the richneſs of it's territorial productions, which are limited to fifteen plantations of ſugar, twenty of coffee, and twelve of indigo or cotton; and ſtill more to the produce of twenty-four plantations of ſugar, fifty of indigo, ſixty-ſeven of coffee, and thirty-four of cotton, which are poured into it's ſtaple from the pariſhes of Petit-Trou, Lance-à-Veaux, St. Michel, and the Great Guave.

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Guave. It is unhealthy, and will always be ſo, till a ſlope hath been made for the river Abaret, the ſtagnant waters of which form infectious moraſſes.

The dependencies of Leogane have ſome degree of extent, twenty habitations are reckoned among them deſtined for indigo, forty for coffee, ten for cotton, and fifty-two for ſugar. Before the earthquake of 1770, which deſtroyed every thing; the town had fifteen regular built ſtreets, and four hundred houſes of ſtone, which are at preſent only built of wood. It's poſition, which is upon a narrow, fertile, and well watered plain, would be excellent, if a navigable canal were made to open an eaſy communication with it's harbour, which is no more than a mile diſtant.

If it were adviſeable to have a fortified town on the weſtern coaſt, undoubtedly Leogane would claim the preference. It ſtands upon plain ground, is not commanded by any eminence, nor can it be annoyed by any ſhips. But to ſecure it from being ſurpriſed, it ſhould at leaſt have been ſurrounded with a deep ditch, which might eaſily be filled with water without the leaſt expence. This might have been effected at a much more reaſonable rate than the works which have been begun at Port-au-Prince.

The weſtern part of the iſland was the firſt that was cultivated by the French, that being at the greateſt diſtance from the Spaniſh forces, which they had then reaſon to fear. This being in the center of the coaſts that belonged to them, the ſeat of government was fixed there. It was

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firſt ſettled at the little Guave, hath been ſince transferred to Leogane, and hath at laſt been fixed at Port-au-Prince in 1750.

THE territory of this diſtrict contains forty plantations of ſugar, fifty of coffee, and fifteen of cotton. This produce is increaſed by ſeveral ſtill more conſiderable, which ariſe from the rich plains of the Cul-de-Sac, of the Arcahaye, and of the mountains of Mirbalais. In this point of view, Port-au-Prince is an important ſtaple, to which a protection ought to be granted ſufficient to prevent any ſurpriſe, and to ſecure the retreat of the citizens. But let us conſider whether it was proper to concentrate in this ſpot the civil and military authority, the tribunals, the troops, the ammunition, the proviſions, and the arſenals; every thing, in a word, which contributes to the ſupport of a great colony.

THE place that was made choice of for the intended capital, is an opening about 1400 toiſes long in a direct line, and commanded on both ſides. Two harbours, formed by ſome iſlets, have afforded a pretence for this injudicious choice. The harbour intended for trading veſſels being now almoſt filled up, can no longer admit men of war with ſafety; and the great harbour deſigned for theſe, being as unwholeſome as the other, from the exhalations of the ſmall iſlands, neither is nor can be defended by any thing againſt a ſuperior enemy.

A SMALL ſquadron might even block up a ſtronger one in ſo unfavourable a poſition. Gonave, which divides the bay in two, would leave a free

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a free and ſafe paſſage for the ſmaller ſquadron; the ſea winds would prevent the other ſquadron from getting up to it; the land winds, by facilitating the exit of the enemy's ſhips from the harbour, would leave them the choice of retreating through either of the outlets of St. Mark and Leogane; and all other circumſtances being equal, they would always have the advantage of keeping Gonave between them and the French ſquadron.

But what would be the conſequence if the French ſquadron ſhould prove the weakeſt? Diſabled and purſued, it could never gain a ſhelter that runs ſo deep into land as Port-au-Prince, before the conqueror had taken advantage of it's defeat. If the diſabled ſhips ſhould reach the place, nothing could hinder the enemy from purſuing them almoſt in a line, and even from entering the king's harbour, where they would take refuge.

The beſt of all ſtations for a cruize is that where one may chuſe whether one will accept or decline the fight, where there is but a ſmall ſpace to guard, where the whole may be viewed from one central point, where a ſafe anchorage may be found at every tack, where one may be concealed without going far, procure wood and water at pleaſure, and ſail in open ſeas, in which there is nothing to fear but from ſqualls. Theſe are the advantages that an enemy's ſquadron will always have over the French ſhips at anchor in Port-au-Prince. A ſingle frigate might ſafely come and bid them defiance, and be ſufficient to intercept

intercept any trading ſhips that ſhould attempt to go in or out without a convoy.

NEVERTHELESS, a harbour ſo unfavourable as this, hath determined the building of the town. It extends along the ſea-ſhore the ſpace of 1200 toiſes, that is, nearly along the opening which the ſea has made in the center of the weſtern coaſt. In this great extent, which runs in to the depth of 550 toiſes, are, as it were loſt, 558 houſes or dwelling-places, diſperſed in 29 ſtreets. The drainings of the torrents that fall from the hills, render this place always damp, without ſupplying it with good water. Add to all this, the little ſecurity there is in a place commanded on the land ſide, and on the ſea ſide eaſy of acceſs in all parts. Even the ſmall iſlands which divide the harbours would be ſo far from defending the town from an invaſion, that they would only ſerve to cover the landing.

SUCH is the ſpot, which on account of private intereſts, hath been unfortunately choſen to build the capital of St. Domingo upon. It hath been entirely deſtroyed by an earthquake which happened in 1770. This was the time to have brought about an alteration, and there was the more reaſon to expect it, as there is the greateſt probability that the new town is built upon the cavern of the volcano. But theſe hopes were fruſtrated, the private houſes and the public edifices have all been rebuilt.

SLEEP on then, thou ſenſeleſs inhabitant of St. Domingo, ſince thou art ſo intrepid; ſleep on, upon the ſlight and thin layer of earth which parts

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thee from the gulph of fire that burns under thy pillow. Remain ignorant of the danger with which thou art threatened, ſince thy apprehenſions would tend only to embitter every inſtant of thy life, without preſerving thee from it.—Conſider not how much thine exiſtence is precarious. Be not informed, that it depends upon the caſual fall of a ſtream, or upon the infiltration already perhaps far advanced, of the ſmall quantity of waters by which thou art ſurrounded in the ſubterranean cauldron, which thy habitation hath been doomed to cover. If thou ſhouldſt emerge from thy ſtupidity only for an inſtant, what would become of thee! Thou wouldſt behold death moving under thy feet. The hollow ſound of the torrents of ſulphur expanded, would continually aſſail thine ears. Thou wouldſt feel the oſcillation of the layer of earth that ſupports thee. Thou wouldſt hear it open with tumultuous noiſe. Thou wouldſt fly from thy houſe and run diſtractedly about the ſtreets. Thou wouldſt think that the walls of thy dwelling, and that all the edifices were ſhaking, and that thou wert going to deſcend in the midſt of their ruins into the gulph which is prepared, if not for thee, at leaſt for thy unfortunate poſterity. The completion of the diſaſter that awaits them will be ſhorter than my account of it. But if there exiſt a juſtice to avenge great crimes; if there be an infernal region, it is there, I truſt, that the villains, who, blinded by views of ſelf-intereſt, have impoſed upon the throne, and whoſe fatal councils have raiſed this monument of ignorance and ſtupidity

upon which thou dwelleſt, and which hath perhaps but an inſtant of duration; it is there that they will go, and groan perpetually in unextinguiſhable flames.

St. Marc, which hath only two hundred houſes, but pleaſantly built, is ſituated at the bottom of a bay, which is crowned with a creſcent of little hills filled with freeſtone. Two rivulets run through the town, and it's air is pure. There are to be found upon it's territory no more than ten plantations of ſugar, thirty-two of indigo, one hundred of coffee, and ſeventy-two of cotton. It's harbour, however, though a bad one, attracts a great number of navigators, and it is indebted for this advantage to the riches of the Artibonite.

This is an exceeding good plain, fifteen leagues in length, and of unequal breadth, from four to nine leagues; it is divided into two parts by the river from which it takes it's name, and which flows with rapidity along the higheſt part of the plain, after having run through ſome of the Spaniſh poſſeſſions and the country of Mirbalais. The elevation of theſe waters hath ſuggeſted the idea of dividing them, the poſſibility of doing which hath been geometrically demonſtrated. So great is the power of enlightened nations over nature itſelf; but a project founded on the baſis of mathematical knowlege, requires the utmoſt caution in the execution.

In the preſent ſtate of things, the plantations formed upon the right ſhore are expoſed to frequent droughts, which often diſappoint the beſt grounded

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grounded expectations. Thoſe of the left ſhore, which are evidently placed much lower, are well watered, and have riſen by this advantage to the higheſt perfection in their cultures. The proprietors of the former haſten the ſpreading of the waters, which is guarded againſt by the latter, who are apprehenſive of ſeeing their grounds overflowed.

If, as it is generally underſtood, theſe are effectual methods to render one part fertile, without reducing the other part to barrenneſs, why ſhould this operation be poſtponed, by which an increaſe of ten or twelve millions weight of ſugar might be obtained? This increaſe would be ſtill more conſiderable, if a method could be deviſed to drain that part of the coaſt which is overflowed by the waters of the Artibonite. Thus it is, that the civilized man, by changing the courſe of rivers, makes the earth ſubſervient to his uſe. The fertility he imparts to the lands can only juſtify his conqueſts; if indeed art and labour, laws and virtues, may be allowed in proceſs of time to atone for the injuſtice of invaſion.

The territory of the Gonaves is flat, tolerably even, and very dry; it hath two plantations of ſugar, ten of coffee, ſix of indigo, and thirty of cotton; this laſt production might be eaſily multiplied, upon a great extent of ſand, which at preſent doth not appear proper for any other kind of culture. But ſhould the waters of the Artibonite be ever prudently diſtributed, a conſiderable part of this large diſtrict would be covered with ſugar canes. It would then be perceived, that

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the ſeat of government ought to have been placed in it's port, which is excellent, and might be eaſily fortified. Another advantage which muſt neceſſarily add to the value of this country, is, that mineral waters are to be found there. They were neglected for a long while, in a colony which is always full of ſick perſons or convaleſcents; but at length in 1772, baths and fountains, commodious habitations, and an hoſpital for ſoldiers and ſailors were built there.

Reflections upon the little concern which the mother-country and the colonies have for each other.

THE colonies preſent us with ſome contradictory phænomena which it is impoſſible to deny, and which it is difficult to conciliate.

THERE can ſcarce be a doubt, but that we hold the productions of the colonies in high eſtimation. Why therefore do we concern ourſelves ſo little about the proſperity and the preſervation of the coloniſts? If the violence of a hurricane ſhall have buried thouſands of unfortunate people under the ruins of their dwellings, and ſhall have laid waſte their poſſeſſions; this is an event which takes up our attention leſs than a duel fought, or an aſſaſſination committed at home. Should a vaſt country of the diſtant continent continue to be ravaged by ſome epidemical diſeaſe, we talk of the matter at home with more coolneſs, than of the uncertain return of the ſmall-pox after inoculation. If the horrors of famine ſhould reduce the inhabitants of St. Domingo, or of Martinico, to ſeek for their food in the country, or to devour one another, we are leſs concerned at ſuch a cataſtrophe than at the calamity of a hail ſtorm, that ſhould have deſtroyed the harveſt in ſome one of

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our villages. It is natural enough to think, that this indifference is the effect of diſtance, and that the coloniſts are not more affected with our misfortunes than we are with their's.

But it will be ſaid, that our towns are contiguous to our country places, and that we have the miſery of their inhabitants inceſſantly in our view. We are not the leſs deſirous of plentiful harveſts of all kinds from them, and yet it is ſcarce poſſible, that there ſhould be a greater neglect ſhew'n for the encouragement, the multiplication, and the preſervation of the huſbandmen. From whence can this ſurpizing contradiction ariſe? It muſt be, that we are mad reſpecting the manner in which we treat our coloniſts, and both inhuman and mad in our conduct with our farmers, ſince both at home and at a diſtance we require the ſame things; and that yet we will not adopt the means of procuring them in either of thoſe places.

But how doth it happen, that this inconſiſtency of the people ſhould likewiſe extend to the government? It is becauſe there is, according to all appearances, a greater ſpirit of jealouſy than of true intereſt, either in the acquiſition or the preſervation of this ſpecies of diſtant property; it is becauſe the ſovereigns ſcarce reckon the coloniſts as among the number of their ſubjects. I ſhall not ſcruple to declare, ſince it is my opinion, that an irruption of the ſea, which ſhould ſwallow up this portion of their domain, would affect them leſs than the loſs of it from the invaſion of a rival power. They care very little whether theſe men live

live or die, provided they do not belong to any one elſe.

I SHALL therefore firſt addreſs myſelf to the ſovereigns, and I ſhall tell them: either leave theſe men to their fate, or aſſiſt them; I ſhall then addreſs myſelf to the coloniſts, and I ſhall ſay: implore the aſſiſtance of the mother-country, to which you are ſubject; and if you ſhould experience a denial, break off your connections with it. It is too much to be obliged to ſupport at once miſery, indifference, and ſlavery.

BUT wherefore are the colonies worſe regulated, and more unhappy ſtill, under thoſe powers to whoſe ſtrength and ſplendour they are the moſt neceſſary? It is becauſe thoſe powers are ſtill more abſurd than we are; and being commercial ſtates the ſpirit of their adminiſtration is ſtill more cruel. It is becauſe in imitation of the farmer, who is not certain of enjoying a new leaſe, they exhauſt a land, which from one year to another may paſs into the hands of a new poſſeſſor. When the provinces of a ſtate are contiguous, thoſe that are neareſt the frontiers are treated with moſt management. It is directly contrary with the colonies. They are oppreſſed, from the ſole apprehenſion, that in circumſtances of a perilous nature the care that might have been beſtowed upon them ſhould be entirely throw'n away.

Settlements formed to the north of St. Domingo.

THE weſtern part of the colony is ſeparated from the northern part by the Mole of St. Nicholas, which lies on both coaſts. At the head of the cape is a good, ſafe, and commodious harbour. It ſtands directly oppoſite to Point Maizi,

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in the iſland of Cuba, and ſeems naturally deſtined, by this poſition, to become the moſt important poſt in all America for the convenience of navigation. The opening of the bay is 1450 toiſes broad. The road leads to the harbour, and the harbour to the baſon. All this great receſs is wholeſome, though the waters of the ſea are almoſt in a ſtate of ſtagnation there. The baſon, which ſeems as if made for the purpoſe of careening, has not the inconvenience of cloſe harbours: it is open to the Weſt and North winds; and yet, if they blow ever ſo hard, they can never interrupt or retard any work that is done in the port. The peninſula where the harbour is ſituated, riſes gradually to the plains, which ſtand upon a very large baſis; it ſeems, as it were, a ſingle mountain, with a broad and flat top, deſcending with a gentle ſlope to unite with the reſt of the iſland.

THE Mole of St. Nicolas was long neglected by the inhabitants of St. Domingo. The bare hills and flat rocks it abounded with, afforded nothing worth their notice. The uſe which the Engliſh made of it during the laſt war, has rendered it of ſome kind of conſequence. The French miniſtry, enlightened even by their enemies, ſettled in 1767 a ſtaple there, where foreign navigators might freely barter the wood and cattle, of which the colony was in want, for it's molaſſes and brandy, which were rejected by the mother-country. This communication, which, by a reaſonable toleration, and induſtrious ſmuggling, hath been extended to ſeveral other objects,

jects, gave birth to a town, which at preſent conſiſts of three hundred wooden houſes, brought ready built from New England.

At ſome diſtance from the port, but ſtill within the diſtrict of the mole, is the town of Bombardopolis. The Acadians, and Germans, who had been carried there in 1763, periſhed at firſt with aſtoniſhing rapidity. This is conſtantly the fate that attends all new ſettlements between the Tropics. The few of theſe unfortunate people that have outlived the fatal effects of the climate, and thoſe of diſappointment and poverty, were wiſhing only to quit this barren ſoil, when the tranſactions carried on in their neighbourhood, revived, in ſome meaſure, their hopes. They cultivate proviſions, fruits, and vegetables; which they ſell to the ſhips, or to the inhabitants of the port, and even a ſmall quantity of coffee and cotton for Europe.

The next ſettlement on the North coaſt, after the mole of St. Nicolas, is called Port Paix. It owed it's origin to the neighbourhood of Tortuga, whoſe inhabitants took refuge there when they forſook that iſland. The grounds were cleared ſo early, that this is is one of the healthieſt ſpots in St. Domingo, and has long ſince attained the utmoſt degree of riches and population it is capable of; but theſe are not very conſiderable, though induſtry has been carried ſo far as even to pierce through mountains for the conveyance of water to moiſten the grounds. Port Paix is on all ſides ſo difficult of acceſs, that it is in a manner cut off from the reſt of the colony.

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THE little Saint Louis, the Borgne, Port Margot, Limbé, and Lacul, have likewiſe no communication with each other. Theſe places are divided by rivers, which overflow and ravage the beſt lands. Accordingly, they are in general too cold for ſugar-canes to thrive in them. The waters of theſe torrents ought to be confined in large and deep beds. After theſe labours are finiſhed, it would be an eaſy matter to conſtruct bridges, which would draw the inhabitants nearer together, would enable them to communicate their improvements to each other, and would make them enjoy the advantages of a better regulated ſociety. The plantations in indigo would then be improved, and thoſe of ſugar would be multiplied, while the coffee would not be forſaken; this plant is conſidered as the beſt of the kind in the colony. Limbé alone collects two millions weight of it, as good as that of Martinico.

Great importance of the town of Cape St. Francis, ſituated upon the northern coaſt of St. Domingo.

THIS is very little, if indeed it be any thing, in compariſon of the productions of the plain of the Cape, which is twenty leagues in length, and about four in breadth. Few lands are better watered; but there is not a river where a ſloop can go up above three miles. All this great ſpace is interſected with ſtraight roads forty feet wide, and planted on both ſides with hedges of citron trees. Theſe roads would have been perfect in their kind, had they been ornamented with tall trees, which would have afforded a delightful ſhade for travellers, and prevented that ſcarcity of wood which this diſtrict already begins to feel. This is the country of America which

produces

produces the greateſt quantity of ſugar, and of the beſt ſort. The plain is terminated by a ridge of mountains, which varies in depth from four to eight leagues. Few of them are very high; ſeveral of them may be cultivated to the very ſummit, and they are all interſected at intervals with an infinite number of plantations of coffee, and ſome exceeding fine plantations of indigo.

ALTHOUGH the French had been early acquainted with the value of a territory, the fertility of which ſurpaſſes all that can be ſaid of it, yet they did not begin to cultivate it till 1770, the time when their apprehenſions of the Spaniards, who till then had remained in force in the neighbourhood were diſſipated. A Calviniſt, named Gobin, one of thoſe whom the ſpirit of intoleration in religious matters began to drive out from their native country, went and reared the firſt habitation at this cape. More houſes were built as the grounds were cleared. This ſettlement had already made ſuch progreſs in the ſpace of twenty years, as to excite the jealouſy of the Engliſh. They joined their forces with thoſe of Spain, and, attacking it both by land and ſea, in 1695, they took, plundered, and reduced it to aſhes.

A GREAT advantage might have been made of this misfortune. Intereſt, which is the primary founder of all colonies, had induced the inhabitants to chuſe, in a harbour that is three leagues in circumference, the foot of a hill for the portion of the cape, becauſe it was the place that lay moſt convenient for the anchorage. A ſituation

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more wholeſome, more convenient, and more ſpacious, might have been choſen. This was not attended to; but the town was rebuilt, where it ought never to have been built, in a bottom, where the rays of the ſun are rendered more ſcorching by the reflection of the mountains; and which never can be refreſhed by the coolneſs of the land breezes. Yet ſuch is the richneſs of the adjacent country, that this ſettlement hath continually increaſed.

The Cape is now cut by twenty-nine ſtraight ſtreets, into 225 cluſters of houſes, which amount to 900; but theſe ſtreets are too narrow, and having no ſlope, though the ſoil itſelf be prominent in the center, are always dirty; for, as they are paved only in the middle, the kennels, which are not even on each ſide, gather into puddles and common ſhores, inſtead of draining off the waters.

The old ſquare of Notre-Dame, and the church built with ſtones brought from Europe that terminates it; the new ſquare of Clugny, where the market hath been fixt; the fountains that embelliſh both of theſe monuments; the governor's houſe, the barracks, the theatre; none of theſe public edifices, in a word, would attract the notice of the curious traveller, who ſhould have any idea of the principles of architecture. But if nature had endowed him with ſenſibility, his heart would expand at the bare mention of the houſe called *La Providence*.

Moſt of the adventurers who firſt come into the colony, are deſtitute of reſources and talents, and

and before they have acquired induſtry to procure ſubſiſtence, become ſubject to diſorders that are often fatal. A humane and generous citizen, founded at the cape two habitations for theſe helpleſs and diſtreſſed perſons, where the men and the women are ſeverally provided with every thing they want. This fine inſtitution, the only one of the kind in the New World, and which would never have been ſufficiently ſupported by authority, nor ſufficiently enriched by the gifts of the citizens, had ſeen it's revenues gradually decreaſe by the diſhoneſty of thoſe who adminiſtered them, and by the neglect of government.

Is it then impoſſible, that any good inſtitution ſhould ſubſiſt among mankind? Will the rich ſtill continue to attack the poor, even in their aſylum, if the preſence of the gallows doth not reſtrain them? Infamous wretches! ye know not all the atrociouſneſs of your conduct; if one of your fellow creatures were brought before you, convicted of having ſeized upon a paſſenger in the night time, and of having preſented a piſtol to his breaſt in order to get his purſe, to what kind of puniſhment would you ſentence him? Be it what it may, you deſerve ſtill a greater one. You unite baſeneſs, inhumanity, and prevarication to the theft; and to what ſpecies of theft: you take from him, who is dying with hunger, the bread that has been intruſted to you for his uſe. You ſtrip miſery itſelf abandoned to your care, and you do it clandeſtinely and without riſk. The imprecation which I am going to thunder out againſt you, I extend it to all the diſ-

honeſt

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honeſt directors of hoſpitals, of whatſoever countries they may be, even of my own; I extend it to all negligent miniſters, from whom they ſhall conceal the knowlege of their crimes, or who ſhall overlook them. May the ignominy, may the puniſhments reſerved for the vileſt malefactors fall upon the proſcribed head of villains, who are capable of ſo enormous a crime againſt humanity, and of a flagitious act ſo contrary to good policy; and if it ſhould happen, that they ſhould eſcape from infamy and from puniſhment, may the miniſtry, who have been ignorant of ſuch an exceſs of corruption, or who have tolerated it, become an object of execration among all nations and in all ages.

NOTWITHSTANDING the confuſion into which the houſes of Providence, ſo famous for the preſervation of the human ſpecies are fallen, there are ſtill proportionally a leſs number of people who die at the Cape than in any other of the maritime towns of the colony. This advantage muſt be attributed to the circumſtance of the whole territory being cultivated, to the filling up of the neighbouring ſloughs, to diſſipation, to the conveniencies of life, to induſtry, and to ſuccours of all kinds, which are found united in a numerous and active ſociety. The air will acquire all the ſalubrity which the nature of things will allow, when the moraſſes of the little bay ſhall have been dried, which diffuſe, in very dry ſeaſons, an infectious odour.

THE harbour is worthy of the town; and it is admirably well adapted to admit the ſhips that come

come from Europe, which may anchor here with convenience and ſafety, of whatever ſize they may be. It lies open to none but the north-eaſt wind, and cannot even be hurt by this, the entrance being full of reefs, which break the violence of the waves.

It is into this famous ſtaple that more than one half of the productions of the colony are conveyed. They are brought from the mountains and from the vallies, but principally from the plains. The pariſhes which furniſh the moſt important of them are know'n by the names of the North Plain, the Little Bay, the Great River, the Morin, the Lemonade, the Terrier Rouge, Fort Dauphin, and Ouanaminthe, which terminates at the river Maſſacre. The diſtrict Morin, and the Iſlet of Lemonade, are much ſuperior to the other ſettlements, both in the quantity and quality of their ſugars.

Nature, and quantity of the productions, which France annually receives from it's colony of St. Domingo.

All the productions of St. Domingo, amounted, in 1720, to no more than one million four hundred thouſand weight of raw ſugar, to one million four hundred thouſand pounds of earthed ſugar, and to one million two hundred thouſand pounds of indigo. Theſe productions have had a prodigious and rapid increaſe. Towards 1737, cotton and coffee were added to them. Even the culture of cacao hath been revived, though ſomewhat later.

In 1775, France receeived from this colony, upon three hundred and fifty-three ſhips, one million two hundred and thirty thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventy-three quintals, ſeventy pounds of

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of ſugar, which were worth 44,738,139 livres, 2 ſols, 2 deniers *; four hundred and fifty-nine thouſand three hundred and thirty-nine quintals, forty-one pounds of coffee, which were worth 21,818,621 livres 19 ſols 6 deniers †; eighteen thouſand eighty quintals, twenty-nine pounds of indigo, which were worth 15,373,346 livres 10 ſols ‡; five thouſand ſeven hundred eighty-ſeven quintals, ſixty-four pounds of cacao, which were worth 405,134 livres 16 ſols §; five hundred and eighteen quintals ſixty-one pounds of arnotto, which were worth 32,663 livres 2 ſols 6 deniers ‖, twenty-ſix thouſand eight hundred and ninety-two quintals, eighty two pounds of cotton, which were worth 6,723,205 livres ¶; fourteen thouſand one hundred and twenty-four hides, which were worth 164,657 livres**; forty-three quintals forty-ſix pounds of rope yarn, which were worth 43,460 livres††; ninety quintals nineteen pounds of black caſſia, which were worth 2,435 livres 11 deniers ‡‡; ninety-two thouſand ſeven hundred and forty-ſix quintals ninety-two pounds of wood, which were worth 908,368 livres 3 ſols 8 deniers §§; and in ſmall productions, ſome of which belonged to the other colonies 1,352,148 livres ‖‖, and in money, 2,600,000 livres ¶¶. The total

* About 1,864,089 l. 2 s. 7 d.
† 909,109 l. 4 s. 11 ¾ d.
‡ 640,556 l. 2 s. 1 d.
§ 16,880 l. 12 s. 4 d.
‖ 1,360 l. 19 s. 3 ¾ d.
¶ 280,133 l. 10 s. 10 d.
** 6,860 l. 14 s. 2 d.
†† 1,810 l. 16 s. 8 d.
‡‡ About 101 l. 9 s. 2 ½ d.
§§ About 37,848 l. 13 s. 5 ¾ d.
‖‖ 56,339 l. 10 s.
¶¶ 108,333 l. 6 s. 8 d.

of

of all theſe ſums produces an income of 94,162,178 livres 16 ſols 9 deniers *.

If to the 94,162,178 livres 16 ſols 9 deniers †, the produce of San Domingo, be added the 488,598 livres 3 ſols 3 deniers ‡, produced by Cayenne; the 18,975,974 livres 1 ſol 10 deniers ‖, produced by Martinico; and the 12,751,404 livres 16 ſols 10 deniers §, produced by Guadalupe, it will be found, that in 1775, France received from her poſſeſſions in the New Hemiſphere, upon five hundred and ſixty-two ſhips, 126,378,155 livres, 18 ſols, 8 deniers ¶.

The kingdom conſumed of theſe productions only to the amount of 52,763,763 livres 5 ſols 8 deniers **. The remainder, which amounted to 73,584,392 livres 13 ſols ††, was conſequently ſold to foreigners.

This great exportation was formed by one million forty thouſand nine hundred and ninety-eight quintals ſixty-ſix pounds of ſugar, which produced 38,703,463 livres ‡‡; by five hundred thouſand five hundred and eighty-two quintals forty-ſix pounds of coffee, which produced 23,727,608 livres 13 ſols §§; by eleven thouſand three hundred and ſix quintals thirty-eight pounds of indigo, which produced 9,610,423 livres ‖‖; by ſeven thouſand nine hundred and twenty-two

* 3,923,424 l. 2 s. 4 ¾ d.
† 3,923,424 l. 2 s. 4 ¾ d.
‡ About 20,354 l. 3 s. 5 ½ d.
‖ 790,664 l. 9 s. 3 d.
§ About 531,307 l. 10 s. 9 d.
¶ About 5,265,757 l. 6 s. 3 ½ d.
** About 2,199,740 l. 1 s. 8 ¾ d.
†† 3,066,016 l. 17 s. 2 ½ d.
‡‡ 1,612,644 l. 5 s. 10 d.
§§ 988,650 l. 7 s. 2 ½ d.
‖‖ 400,434 l. 5 s. 10 d.

quintals

quintals ſeventy-five pounds of cacao, which produced 554,592 livres 10 ſols *; by fifteen hundred and thirty-one quintals ſeventy-eight pounds of arnotto, which produced 95,838 livres †; by one thouſand and twenty quintals eleven pounds of cotton, which produced 255,027 livres 10 ſols ‡; by twelve hundred and ſeven quintals fifty-nine pounds of black caſſia, which produced 32,605 livres ‖; by forty-one thouſand eight hundred and eight quintals, twenty pounds of wood, which produced 598,723 livres §; by five hundred and ſixty-eight hides, which produced 5,112 livres ¶; and by one hundred pounds weight of rope-yarn, which produced 1000 livres **.

To return to St. Domingo; it's aſtoniſhing wealth was produced by three hundred and eighty-five ſugar-houſes for raw ſugars, and two hundred and ſixty-three for earthed ſugars; by two thouſand five hundred and eighty-ſeven plantations of indigo; by fourteen millions eighteen thouſand three hundred and thirty-ſix cotton plants; by ninety-two millions eight hundred and ninety-three thouſand four hundred and five coffee trees; and by ſeven hundred and fifty-ſeven thouſand ſix hundred and ninety-one cacao trees.

At the ſame period, the cattle of the colony amounted to ſeventy-five thouſand nine hundred and fifty-eight horſes or mules, and ſeventy-ſeven thouſand nine hnndred and four head of horned cattle. It's proviſions conſiſted of ſeven

* 23,108 l. 0 s. 5 d. † 3,993 l. 5 s. 10 d.
‡ 10,626 l. 2 s. 11 d. ‖ 1,358 l. 10 s. 10 d.
§ 24,947 l. 5 s. 10 d. ¶ 213 l. ** 41 l. 13 s. 4 d.

million

million ſeven hundred and fifty-ſix thouſand two hundred and twenty-five banana trees; one million one hundred and ſeventy-eight thouſand two hundred and twenty-nine trenches of manioc; twelve thouſand ſeven hundred and thirty-four plots of maize; eighteen thouſand ſeven hundred and thirty-eight plots of potatoes; eleven thouſand eight hundred and twenty-five plots of yams; and ſeven thouſand forty-ſix plots of ſmall millet.

THE labours occupied thirty-two thouſand and fifty white perſons, of all ages, and of both ſexes; ſix thouſand and thirty-ſix Negroes, or free Mulattoes, and about three hundred thouſand ſlaves. The annual calculation did not indeed reckon the number of theſe unfortunate captives at more than two hundred forty thouſand and ninety-five; but it is well know'n, that at that time every planter concealed as many as he could from the reſearches of the treaſury, in order to avoid the rigour of the impoſts.

THESE cultures, and theſe inhabitants, are diſtributed over forty-ſix pariſhes, ſome of which are twenty leagues in circumference. The limits of a great number of them are not yet fixed, and moſt of them have nothing but huts or ruins for their churches. Divine ſervice is ſcarce performed in any of them with proper decency. The churches of the South and of the Weſtern parts are under the direction of Dominican friars, and thoſe of the North under Capuchins, who have ſucceeded the Jeſuits. They have all a large village or a town belonging to them.

THE large villages are formed by the ſhops of ſome merchants, and by the manufactures of ſome artificers, all of them conſtructed round the preſbytery. On feſtival days a kind of market is eſtabliſhed, to which the ſlaves reſort, in order to barter the fruits, the poultry, and other trifling proviſions which belong to them, for furniture, cloaths, and ornaments, which, though of ſmall value, procure them ſome kind of convenience, and diſtinguiſh them from their fellow-creatures, who are not in poſſeſſion of ſimilar enjoyments. We cannot ſufficiently expreſs our indignation, that tyranny ſhould ſtill purſue them, while they are employed in theſe trifling exchanges, and that the vile ſatellites of juſtice, intruſted with the regulation of the police of theſe aſſemblies, ſhould make theſe unfortunate people ſenſible of the hardſhips of their ſituation, even during the ſhort reſpite which is granted them by their barbarous maſters.

HERE we may perceive two very odious characters; the bailiff who torments the ſlave, and the director who doth not exerciſe his authority againſt the bailiff. But the bailiff is a man devoid of compaſſion, whoſe daily functions have perhaps hardened him to ſuch a pitch, that he grows weary when the exerciſe of them is ſuſpended, and when he has no opportunity of making any one ſuffer. The director, on the contrary, is a magiſtrate, whoſe breaſt doth not harbour the ſame degree of ferociouſneſs, whoſe habitual buſineſs it is to diſplay a kind of dignity, and in whom juſtice ought always to be tempered

with compaſſion. How doth it happen, that two ſuch different beings ſeem to concur in adding to the misfortune of the ſlaves? Is it owen to a barbarous contempt of theſe miſerable people, who are almoſt expunged from the race of mankind? Or are they ſo completely doomed to grief and pain, that their cries and their tears ſhall not make any further impreſſion?

The towns of the colony, and in general all thoſe of the American iſlands, exhibit a picture very different from that which the European towns diſplay. In Europe, our cities are peopled with men of every claſs, of all profeſſions, and of all ages; ſome of them rich and idle, others poor and laborious; all of them purſuing, amidſt the tumult and amidſt the multitude, the object which they have in view; ſome following pleaſure, others fortune; ſome reputation, or momentary fame, which is often miſtaken for it; and others ſeeking their ſubſiſtence. In theſe great vortices, the colliſion and variety of paſſions, of intereſts, and of wants, neceſſarily produce great agitations, unexpected contraſts, ſome virtues, and many vices or crimes. Theſe are moving pictures, more or leſs animated in proportion to the number of actors, and conſequently of ſcenes that are exhibited there. At St. Domingo, and in the reſt of the American Archipelago, the ſpectacle preſented by the towns is uniform, and exactly the ſame. They have neither nobles, tradeſmen, nor annuitants. They preſent nothing but magazines appropriated to the productions of the ſoil, and to the different labours

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they require. They have none but agents, innkeepers, and adventurers, exerting themſelves to obtain a poſt by which they may ſubſiſt, and accepting the firſt that offers. Every man is in haſte to get rich, in order to quit a ſituation where there are no diſtinctions, no honours, no pleaſures to be found, and which ſupplies no other ſtimulus beſide that of intereſt. No man reſides there with an intention of living and dying upon the ſpot. The views of all men are fixed upon Europe; and the principal idea that tends to the increaſe of riches, conſiſts in the expectation, more or leſs diſtant, of bringing them back into our hemiſphere, among our own relations.

Connections of St. Domingo with foreign nations.

BESIDE the immenſe productions which the colony ſends to the mother-country, and which may at leaſt be increaſed by one third, a ſmall portion of them are delivered to it's indolent neighbour. It is with ſugar, rum, and eſpecially with the liquors and the manufactures of Europe, that the colony pays what the Spaniſh part of St. Domingo, furniſhes in pork and hung beef, in wood, hides, horſes, and horned cattle, for it's manufactures, and for it's ſhambles; and that it appropriates to itſelf all the ſilver ſent from the mines of Mexico to this antient ſettlement. The court of Madrid have endeavoured to diminiſh the activity of this intercourſe, by prohibiting the foreign merchandize from being brought into it's poſſeſſions, and by loading the cattle, which might be exported, with heavy duties. This faulty regulation hath had no other effect than to put a reſtraint upon thoſe exchanges which

ough

ought to have continued perfectly free. It is particularly in this part of the world, that mutual wants prevail over natural antipathy, and that the uniformity of climate ſtifles this ſource of diſcord.

The Dutch of Curaſſou engroſs a great part of the trade of the French colony, during the wars in which they are not engaged; and they likewiſe carry off ſome commodities in peace time. It is with the productions in the Eaſt Indies, and with bills of exchange, that they keep up this trifling intercourſe.

The connections between the people of Jamaica and thoſe of St. Domingo, are much more conſiderable. The twelve or thirteen thouſand ſlaves which are annually carried to the colony by the French navigators, do not prevent it's receiving four or five thouſand from the Engliſh. The latter coſt one ſixth leſs than the other, and are paid with cotton, and eſpecially with indigo, which is accepted at a higher price than is given by the national trade. Theſe ſmugglers carry it into their own country, as a production of the Britiſh iſlands, and receive a gratification of 12 ſols * per pound.

It is with North America, however, that St. Domingo keeps up a more regular and more uſeful intercourſe. In times of urgent calamities, the veſſels of that vaſt region of the New World are admitted in all the harbours, but at ordinary times only in the mole of St. Nicholas.

* 6 d.

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In common times, their cargoes conſiſt of wood for ſhip-building, vegetables, cattle, flour, and ſalt fiſh. They carry off publicly five and twenty or thirty thouſand hogſheads of molaſſes, and fraudulently, all the proviſions which the coloniſts can deliver to them, or chooſe to do it.

The connections of France with St. Domingo become dangerous during times of war. Reaſon of this.

Such is, in time of peace, the diviſion which is made of the territorial riches of St. Domingo. War opens a new ſcene. As ſoon as the ſignal for hoſtilities is given, the Engliſh take poſſeſſion of all the latitudes about the colony. They reſtrain it's exports and it's imports. Every article, either entering or going out, falls into their hands; and the ſmall quantity which might have eſcaped in the New Hemiſphere, is intercepted upon the coaſts of the Old, where the enemy are equally ſtrong. The merchants of the mother-country are then obliged to poſtpone their expeditions, and the inhabitants of the iſland neglect their labours. Languor and deſpair ſucceed to important and rapid communications, and laſt as long as the diviſions ſubſiſt between the belligerent powers.

This would have been otherwiſe, had the French, who firſt appeared at St. Domingo, thought of eſtabliſhing cultures. They would have occupied, as they might have done, that part of the iſland which lies to the Eaſt. The plains on this ſide are ſpacious and fertile; and the coaſts are ſafe; a ſhip enters the harbours upon the day they are diſcovered, and loſes ſight of them the very day it ſails out. Such is the nature of the road, that the enemy cannot lay any

ambuſcade

ambuſcade there. The coaſt is unfit for cruiſing. Theſe latitudes are convenient for the Europeans, and the paſſage expeditious; but as the ſcheme of theſe adventurers was to attack the Spaniſh ſhips, and to infeſt the Gulph of Mexico with their piracies, the poſſeſſions they occupied upon a winding coaſt, were ſurrounded by Cuba, Jamaica, the Turks, Tortuga, the Caicos, Gonava, and Lucayos iſlands. They are alſo ſurrounded by a multitude of ſand-banks and rocks, which make the progreſs of a ſhip ſlow and uncertain; and by narrow ſeas, which muſt give a great advantage to the enemy, either for landing, for blocking up, or for cruiſing.

The court of Verſailles will never be able to maintain a regular intercourſe with it's colony during time of war, unleſs by the means of ſome ſhips of the line to the South, and the Weſt, and a good ſquadron to the North. Nature hath formed, at Fort Dauphin, a vaſt, commodious, and ſafe harbour, which can be defended with facility. From this harbour, ſituated to the windward of the other ſettlements, it would be eaſy to protect the ſeveral latitudes; but the works of the place ought to be repaired and extended, and particularly a proper naval arſenal ought to be formed. If this were done, the French admirals, being ſecure of an aſylum, and of all the neceſſary aſſiſtances, after either a ſucceſsful or an unſucceſsful engagement, would be no longer fearful of engaging the enemies of their country.

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The part of St. Domingo which is occupied by the French, may be attacked by the Spaniards, who are in poſſeſſion of the other part.

THE meaſures which would be proper to be be taken to prevent the ravages which the Spaniards might commit in the inland part of St. Domingo, deſerve likewiſe ſome attention.

CASTILE, which is ſtill in poſſeſſion of two-thirds of the iſland, formerly had the whole of it, when, a little before the middle of the laſt century, a few bold and enterpriſing Frenchmen went there to ſeek a refuge from the laws, or from miſery. The Spaniards endeavoured to repulſe them; but though without any other ſupport than their courage, they were not afraid of ſuſtaining war with a people armed under a regular authority. Theſe men were acknowleged by their nation as ſoon as they were thought ſtrong enough to maintain themſelves in their uſurpations. A commander was ſent to them. The brave man, who was firſt appointed to command thoſe intrepid adventurers, caught their ſpirit to ſuch a degree, as to propoſe to his court the conqueſt of the whole iſland. He pledged his life for the ſucceſs of the undertaking, provided they would ſend him a ſquadron ſtrong enough to block up the harbour of the capital.

THE miniſtry of Verſailles, neglecting a project which was in reality more practicable than it appeared to them at a diſtance, left the French expoſed to continual hoſtilities. Notwithſtanding this, they always repulſed them ſucceſsfully, and even carried devaſtation into the enemy's country; but thoſe animoſities kept up in their minds a ſpirit of robbery and plunder, indiſpoſed them for uſeful labours, and ſtopt the progreſs of agri-

culture, which ſhould be the ultimate end of every well-regulated ſociety.

THE error which France had fallen into, in not ſeconding the ardour of the new coloniſts for the conqueſt of the whole iſland, had nearly occaſioned her the loſs of that part of which ſhe was already in poſſeſſion. While the French were engaged in carrying on the war of 1688, againſt all Europe, the Spaniards and the Engliſh, who both dreaded ſeeing them firmly eſtabliſhed at St. Domingo, united their forces to expel them. Their firſt attempts gave them reaſon to expect an entire ſucceſs; when they quarrelled with each other, and from that time became irreconcileable enemies. Ducaſſe, who managed the colony with much ſagacity and great reputation, took advantage of their diviſions to attack them ſucceſſively. He firſt invaded Jamaica, where he deſtroyed every thing with fire and ſword. From thence he was preparing to turn his arms againſt St. Domingo; and would infallibly have reduced the whole iſland, had he not been ſtopped in this expedition by orders from his court.

THE houſe of Bourbon aſcended the throne of Spain, and the French nation loſt all hopes of conquering St. Domingo. Hoſtilities, which had not even been ſuſpended there by the treaties of Aix-la-Chapelle, Nimeguen, and Ryſwick, ceaſed at laſt between people who could never be true friends to each other. Thoſe who had eſtabliſhed cultures derived ſome advantage from this reconciliation. For ſome time paſt, their ſlaves, availing themſelves of the national diviſions, had

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ſhaken off their chains, and removed into a diſtrict where they found freedom and no labour. This deſertion was abated, by the Spaniards entering into a contract to bring home the fugitives to their neighbours, for the ſum of 250 livres * a head. Although this agreement was not very ſcrupulouſly obſerved, it proved a powerful check, till the diſſentions that divided the two nations in 1718. At this period the Negroes deſerted their works in multitudes. This loſs induced the French to think of reviving their old project of expelling totally from the iſland ſuch neighbours, who were equally dangerous from their indolence, as others would be from their turbulent ſpirit. The war did not laſt long enough to bring about this revolution. At the concluſion of the peace, Philip V. gave orders for the reſtitution of all the fugitives that could be found. They were juſt embarked, to be ſent to their old maſters, when the people roſe and reſcued them; an act which we could hardly diſapprove, had they been prompted to it by humanity, rather than by national hatred. It will always be pleaſing to ſee people excited to rebellion on account of the ſlavery of the Negroes. Thoſe who were reſcued on this occaſion, fled into inacceſſible mountains, where they have ſince multiplied to ſuch a degree, as to be able to afford a ſafe retreat to all the ſlaves that can find means to join them. There, in conſequence of the cruelty of civilized nations, they become as

* 10l. 8s. 4d.

free

free and as ſavage as tigers; in expectation, perhaps, of a chief and a conqueror, who may reſtore the violated rights of mankind, by ſeizing upon an iſland which ſeems to have been intended for the ſlaves who till the ground, and not for the tyrants who water it with the blood of thoſe victims.

The preſent ſyſtem of politics will not allow France and Spain to be at war with each other. Should any event occaſion a rupture between the two nations, notwithſtanding the compact between the two crowns, it would probably be but a tranſient quarrel, that would not allow time for projecting conqueſts which muſt ſoon be reſtored. The enterprizes on both ſides would, therefore, be confined to the ravaging of the country; and in this caſe the nation that does not cultivate, at leaſt at St. Domingo, would prove formidable, by it's very poverty, to that which has already made ſome progreſs in the culture of it's lands. A Caſtilian governor was ſo ſenſible of this, that he once wrote to the French commandant, that, if he forced him to an invaſion, he would deſtroy more in the compaſs of one league, than the French could, if they were to lay waſte all the country he commanded.

Hence it is demonſtrable, that, if a war ſhould break out in Europe between theſe two powers, the moſt active of them ought to ſue for a neutrality in favour of this iſland. It ought even, as it hath often been ſaid, to ſolicit the abſolute ceſſion of a poſſeſſion which is uſeleſs, or burthenſome, to it's poſſeſſor. We know not whether

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ther the court of Verſailles have ever entertained this ambitious idea. But how much muſt we ſuppoſe that the Spaniſh miniſtry would have been averſe from this ceſſion, when they have ſtated ſo many difficulties, reſpecting the fixing of the confuſed and uncertain limits of the two nations! This treaty, ardently deſired, projected for a long time, and even begun at ſeveral intervals, hath been at length concluded in 1776.

Have the limits between France and Spain, been judiciouſly ſettled at St. Domingo?

THE only equitable and reaſonable baſis of theſe negociations, ſhould have been the ſtate of theſe poſſeſſions in 1700.

AT this period, both nations being upon friendly terms, remained the juſt owners of the lands they then poſſeſſed. The incroachments made during the courſe of this century, by the ſubjects of one of the crowns, are the incroachments of individuals upon each other; they are not become lawful poſſeſſors by being tolerated; and the rights of both powers are ſtill the ſame, ſince they have not been abrogated, directly or indirectly, by any convention.

BUT it is certain, from inconteſtible facts, that, in the beginning of this century, the French poſſeſſions, which are now bounded on the northern coaſt by the river of Maſſacre, extended then to the river Rebone. Thoſe of the ſouthern coaſt, which had been carried on as far as the river of Neybe, have been at preſent ſtopped at the inlet of Pitre. This ſurprizing revolution is the natural conſequence of the œconomical ſyſtem of the two neighbouring nations. The one which has applied itſelf chiefly to agriculture, has collected

lected all it's poſſeſſions towards the moſt frequented ports, where the produce might be moſt certainly and advantageouſly diſpoſed of. The other, whoſe ſubjects have always continued ſhepherds, took poſſeſſion of all the lands that were abandoned, for the breeding of more cattle. The paſtures have naturally been enlarged, and the fields contracted, or at leaſt brought cloſer together.

A NEGOTIATION properly conducted, would have reſtored France to that ſituation in which it was when it gave a king to the Spaniards. This was the wiſh of equity and of reaſon; which were not deſirous that active coloniſts, who render the land which they fertilize uſeful, ſhould be ſacrificed to a ſmall number of vagabonds, who conſume, without aſſiſting, in theſe productions. Nevertheleſs, from motives of policy, the ſprings of which are unknow'n to us, the court of Verſailles have given up what they formerly poſſeſſed, and confined themſelves to what they were in actual poſſeſſion of, upon the borders of the ſea, at the time of the convention. But hath this power, at leaſt regained in the inland parts, what it hath ſacrificed upon the coaſt? We are under the neceſſity of declaring, that it hath not received the ſmalleſt indemnity.

BEFORE the treaty, the French colony formed a a kind of creſcent, the convexity of which produced, around the mountains, an extent of two hundred and fifty leagues of coaſt to the North, to the Weſt, and to the South of the iſland. The ſame arrangement ſubſiſts ſince the limits have been

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been ſettled; ſooner or later it muſt be changed, for a reaſon which muſt prevail over all other conſiderations.

The French ſettlements, to the Weſt and the South, are divided from thoſe to the North by the Spaniſh territory. The impoſſibility of ſuccouring each other, expoſes them ſeparately to the invaſion of a power which is equally an enemy to both nations. Common intereſt will determine the court of Madrid, to fix the limits in ſuch a manner, that her ally may meet with the aſſiſtance that may be wanted for her defence. But this can never be, unleſs a line be draw'n from the two fixed points upon the banks of the ocean, which ſhall determine the property of the two people. In vain would Spain perpetually grant to it's neighbour the liberty of paſſing through it's ſtates, as it did in 1748, for a time: this complaiſance would be of no uſe. That ſpace, of fifteen or twenty leagues, is interſected with mountains ſo ſteep, foreſts ſo thick, ravins ſo deep, and rivers ſo irregular in their courſe, as to render it impracticable for an army to paſs through it in it's preſent ſituation. Immenſe labours would be requiſite to render it uſeful, and thoſe will never be executed, unleſs by orders of the crown to which the domain belongs. The court of Madrid will the more readily determine to cede this communication, ſo neceſſary to a nation whoſe intereſts are the ſame as their own, as the intermediate territory is of little value. It is rugged, not very fertile, and at a great diſtance from the ſea. A few ſcattered

flocks

flocks only are ſeen upon it. The proprietors of theſe uncultivated lands, would be indemnified by France, with a generoſity which would leave them no room to regret what they had loſt.

Means which the French part of St. Domingo hath to protect itſelf from foreign inſaſions.

When the poſſeſſions of the colony are thus connected and ſupported internally, by an uninterrupted chain of communication, the enemy will be more eaſily repulſed. If the Engliſh mean to attack St. Domingo by the Weſt or South, they will collect their forces at Jamaica; if by the North, they will make their preparations at the Windward Iſlands, and moſt probably at Antigua, which is the magazine of their naval ſtores.

The Weſt and South are incapable of being defended. The immenſe extent of the tract renders it impoſſible to maintain any connection or regularity in the motion of the troops. If they ſhould be diſperſed, they would become uſeleſs by being thus divided; if they ſhould be collected for the defence of ſuch poſts as are moſt liable to be attacked, from the natural weakneſs of their poſition, they would be in danger of being all loſt together. Large battalions would only be burthenſome to ſuch extenſive coaſts, which preſent too much flank and too much front to the enemy. It will only be neceſſary to erect, or keep up, batteries to protect the roads, the merchant-ſhips, and the coaſting-trade; to keep off privateers, and even to prevent the landing of a man of war or two, that might come to ravage the coaſt, and levy contributions. The light troops, which are ſufficient to ſupport theſe

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batteries, will give ground in proportion to the advances of the enemy, and only take care to avoid ſurrendering till they are in danger.

But it is not neceſſary to relinquiſh every kind of defence. At the back of each coaſt, there ſhould be a place for ſhelter and for reinforcements; always open for retreat, out of the enemy's reach, ſafe from inſults, and able to reſiſt their attack. This ſhould be a narrow paſs, capable of being intrenched, and of defending the troops to advantage. From theſe impregnable retreats, the conqueror might continually be haraſſed; who, having no ſtrong hold, will be perpetually expoſed to a ſurpriſe; and will ſooner or later be obliged to reimbark.

The northern coaſt, richer, more populous, and leſs extenſive than the other two, is more adapted to ſupport a land war, and to make a regular defence.

The ſea-ſide, which is more or leſs full of reefs, affords in many places a ſwampy ground; and the mangroves which cover theſe marſhes, make them quite impenetrable. This natural defence is not ſo common as it was, ſince many of theſe coppices have been cut away. But the landing-places, which are commonly no better than gaps, flanked by theſe woods overflowed with water, require but a moderate front to ſtop them up. Magazines, and other ſtone buildings, are common there; they furniſh poſts for the erection of battlements, and ſecure the placing of ſome maſked batteries.

THIS firſt line of the ſhore ſeems to promiſe, that a coaſt of eighteen leagues, ſo well defended by nature, would, when ſeconded by the valour of the French, put the enemy in danger of being beaten the moment they ſhould land. If their ſchemes were diſcovered, or if the diſpoſitions they were making at ſea ſhould, from a diſtance, point out the place of their landing, the forces might repair thither and prevent it. But experience ſhews the infallible advantage of ſquadrons at anchor.

IT is not only by the firing of broadſides from the ſhips to cover the approach of boats, it is by the impoſſibility there is of guarding every part of the coaſt, that a ſquadron at anchor can eaſily effect landing, as it is a conſtant check to ſo many places at once. Land forces move very ſlowly about the windings of the coaſt, while the boats and ſloops arrive ſpeedily by a ſhorter way. The aſſailant follows the ſtring, while the other muſt go all along the bow. Diſappointed and wearied out with a variety of motions, the latter is not leſs apprehenſive of thoſe he ſees in the day-time, than of the manœuvres of the night which he cannot ſee.

IN order to be able to oppoſe a deſcent, the firſt thing to be done is to ſuppoſe it actually accompliſhed; all our courage and ſtrength is then exerted in taking advantage of the delays or miſtakes of the enemy. As ſoon as they are obſerved at ſea, they may immediately be expected on land. A large ſhore, on which a landing may be effected, will

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will always leave the plain of the Cape open to invaſion; ſo that the chief attention muſt be directed, not to the ſea-ſhore, but to the inland parts.

THE inland parts are in general covered with ſugar-canes, which being more or leſs high, according to their degree of maturity, ſucceſſively make the fields appear ſo many thickets. Theſe are occaſionally ſet on fire, either to cover a march, or to retard the enemy's purſuit, to deceive or aſtoniſh him. In two hours time, inſtead of fields covered with crops, nothing is to be ſeen but an immenſe waſte, covered with ſtubble.

THE partitions of the cane grounds, the ſavannahs, and the ſtorehouſes for proviſions, do not obſtruct the motions of an army more than our meadows. Inſtead of our villages, they have their habitations, which are not ſo full of people, but are more numerous. The thick and ſtraight hedges of citron-trees are cloſer and more impenetrable than the fences that incloſe our fields. This is what conſtitutes the greateſt difference in the view of the fields of America and thoſe of Europe.

A SMALL number of rivers, ſome hollow ways, very low hillocks, a ſoil generally even, ſome dikes conſtructed againſt inundations, few ditches, if any, one or two foreſts, not very thick ſet with trees, a ſmall number of moraſſes, a ground that is overflowed in a ſtorm, and grows duſty again with twelve hours ſunſhine, rivers that are full

one

one day, and dried up the next; theſe are the general appearances of the plain of the Cape. This diverſity muſt afford advantageous encampments, and it muſt ever be remembered, that in a defenſive war, the poſt one removes to, cannot be too near the one that is quitted.

It is not the province of a writer to preſcribe rules to military men. Cæſar himſelf has told us what he has done, not what we are to do. Topographical deſcriptions, determining the goodneſs of ſuch or ſuch a poſt, the combination of marches, the art of encampments and retreats, the moſt learned theory; all theſe muſt be ſubmitted to the eye of the general, who, with the principles in his mind, and the materials in his hand, applies both to the circumſtances of time and place, as they chance to occur. The military genius, though mathematical, is dependent on fortune, which ſuits the order of the operations to the diverſity of appearances. Rules are liable to numberleſs exceptions, which muſt be diſcovered in the inſtant. The very execution almoſt always alters the plan, and diſcompoſes the ſyſtem of an action. The courage or timidity of the troops, the raſhneſs of the enemy, the caſual ſucceſs of his meaſures, an accidental combat, an unforeſeen event, a ſtorm that ſwells a torrent, a high wind that conceals a ſnare or an ambuſcade under clouds of duſt, thunder that frightens the horſes, or is confounded with the report of the cannon, the temperature of the air, which conſtantly influences the ſpirits of the commander and the blood of the ſoldiers: all theſe

are ſo many natural or moral cauſes, which, by their uncertainty, may overturn the beſt-concerted projects.

WHATEVER place is made choice of for a deſcent at St. Domingo, the town of the Cape will always be the object of it. The landing will be ſomewhere in the bay of the Cape, where the ſhips will be ready to augment the land-forces with two-thirds of their crews, and to furniſh them with artillery, ammunition, and whatever they may want for the ſiege of that opulent forteſs. It is towards this bulwark of the colony that all endeavours to keep off the aſſailer muſt be directed. The choice of advantageous poſitions will, in ſome meaſure, compenſate for the inequality of numbers. At the moment of landing, the ground muſt be diſputed by ſupporting a kind of falſe attack, without engaging the whole of the troops. Theſe muſt be poſted in ſuch a manner as to ſecure two retreats, the one towards the Cape, to form the garriſon of that place, the other in the narrow paſſes of the mountains, where they will keep an intrenched camp, from whence they may annoy the beſiegers, and retard the taking of the place. Should the place ſurrender, as it would be an eaſy matter to favour the evaſion of the troops when they evacuate it, the conqueſt would not yet be completed. The mountains in which they would take refuge, inacceſſible to an army, ſurround the plain with a double or treble chain, and guard the inhabited parts, by very narrow paſſes, which may be eaſily defended. The principal of theſe is the defile o

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the great river, where the enemy would find two or three paſſes of the river, that reach from one mountain to the other. In this place four or five hundred men would ſtop the moſt numerous army, by only ſinking the bed of the waters. This reſiſtance might be ſeconded by 25,000 inhabitants, both white and black, who are ſettled in theſe vallies. As the white men are more numerous here than upon the richer lands, and their crops are ſmaller, they cannot afford to conſume any great quantity of the produce of Europe, ſo that what they cultivate is chiefly for their own ſubſiſtence; from this they might eaſily ſupply the troops that ſhould defend their country. Any deficiency in the article of freſh meat could be made up by the Spaniards, who breed vaſt quantities of cattle on the backs of theſe mountains.

After all, it may happen that the firmneſs of the troops may be ſunk under the want of proviſions or warlike ſtores, and they may be either forced or turned back. This ſuggeſted the idea ſome years ago at Verſailles, of building a fortified town in the center of the mountains. Marſhal Noailles was a warm advocate for this ſcheme. It was then imagined, that by means of ſome redoubts of earth ſcattered upon different parts of the coaſt, the enemy might be enticed by regular attacks, and inſenſibly exhauſted by the loſs of a great number of men, in a climate where ſickneſs ſuddenly proves more deſtructive than the ſword. It was ſuggeſted that no more ſtrong holds ſhould be erected on the frontiers, where they lie expoſed

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to the invaſion of the maſters of the ſea; becauſe, while they are unable to defend their own habitations, they become ſo many bulwarks for the conquerors, who can eaſily take and guard them with their ſhips, and depoſe or draw from thence arms and men to intimidate the vanquiſhed. An entirely open country was better, in their opinion, for a power that has no maritime ſtrength, than forces diſperſed and forſaken upon ſhores, waſted and depopulated by the inclemency of the climate.

It was in the center of the iſland that the ſtrongeſt place of defence was expected to be made. A road of twenty or thirty leagues, full of obſtacles, where every march muſt be attended with ſeveral engagements, in which the advantage of the poſts would render a detachment formidable to a whole army; where the removing of the artillery would be tedious and laborious; where the difficulty of convoys, and the diſtance of communication with the ocean; where every thing, in ſhort, would conſpire to deſtroy the enemy: ſuch was to be, as it were, the glacis of the intended fortification. This capital was to ſtand upon high ground, where the air is more pure and temperate than in the plains beneath; in the midſt of a country which would ſupply the town with neceſſaries; ſurrounded with flocks and herds, which, feeding upon a ſoil moſt favourable to their increaſe, would be reſerved for times of want; provided with ſtorehouſes proportioned to the town and garriſon: ſuch a city would have changed the colony into a king-

dom

dom, able to ſupport itſelf for a long time; whereas it's preſent opulence does but weaken it, and having ſuperfluities without neceſſaries, it enriches a few proprietors, without affording them ſuſtenance.

If the enemy had made themſelves maſters of the ſea-coaſt, which would not be diſputed with them, and were deſirous of collecting the produce of the lands, they would ſtand in need of whole armies to keep merely upon the defenſive; for the continual excurſions from the center would not permit them do more than this. The troops in the inland parts of the iſland, always ſure of a reſpectable retreat, might eaſily be relieved by recruits from Europe, which would find no difficulty in penetrating to the center of a circle of ſo immenſe a circumference; whereas all the Engliſh fleets would not be ſufficient to fill up the vacancies which the climate would be continually making in their garriſons.

Notwithstanding the evidence of theſe advantages, the project of a fortification in the mountains has been dropt, and a ſyſtem purſued, which would confine the whole defence of the iſland to the Mole of St. Nicholas. This new plan could not fail of being applauded by the planters, who were not fond of citadels and garriſons near their plantations, as they are more injurious than they can poſſibly be beneficial to them. They are ſenſible, that the whole force being directed to one point, they ſhould have none but light troops left in their neighbourhood on the three coaſts, which are ſufficient to drive away the privateers by the

assistance of their batteries; and are, besides, very convenient defenders, ever ready to yield without resistance, and to disperse or capitulate on the least intimation of an invasion.

This plan, so favourable to private interest, has also met with the approbation of some persons well versed in military affairs. They were of opinion, that the few troops which the colony will admit of, being in a manner lost in so large an island as St. Domingo, would make an appearance at the Mole. Bombardopolis is the place that has been chosen, as the most respectable post. This new city stands on the margin of a plain, which is sufficiently elevated to render it cool and temperate. It's territory is covered with a natural savannah, and adorned with groves of palm-trees of various kinds. It is not commanded; which is an uncommon circumstance at St. Domingo. It might be made a regular fortification, and of any degree of strength. If it did not prevent an invasion, it would, at least, prevent the conquerors from getting a firm establishment upon the coasts.

It were to be wished, say the partizans of this new system, that, from the first moment the works had been begun at the Mole, it had at the same time been fortified to the degree that so advantageous a situation would admit of. It is a treasure, the possession of which should have been secured as soon as it was discovered. Should this valuable key of St. Domingo, and, indeed, of all America, fall into the hands of the English, this Gibraltar of America would be more fatal

fatal to France and Spain than even that of Europe.

It is no wonder, if all the precautions which have been taken hitherto for the defence of St. Domingo, have been conducted with ſo little judgment. As long as forecaſt and protection ſhall be confined to ſecondary means, which can only protract, not prevent, the conqueſt of this iſland, no invariable plan can be purſued. Fixed principles are the excluſive privilege of ſuch powers as can depend upon their naval force, to prevent the loſs, or ſecure the recovery of, their colonies. Thoſe of France have not hitherto been guarded by thoſe floating arſenals, which can at the ſame time attack and defend; but this power hath at length been rouzed, and it's navy is becoming formidable. But does ſhe govern her poſſeſſions abroad by the maxims of ſound policy and good order? This is what we ſhall next inquire into.

The Britiſh government, ever actuated by the national ſpirit, which ſeldom deviates from the true intereſts of the ſtate, has carried into the New World that right of property which is the ground-work of her legiſlation. From a conviction, that man never thinks he has the entire poſſeſſion of any thing but what he has lawfully acquired; they have, indeed, ſold the lands in the iſlands but at a very moderate price to ſuch as were willing to clear them. This hath appeared the ſureſt way to haſten the cultivation of them; and to prevent partialities and jealouſies, the ne-

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ceſſary conſequences of a diſtribution guided by caprice or favour.

Is the right of property well eſtabliſhed in the French iſlands?

FRANCE has taken a method ſeemingly more generous, but not ſo prudent, that of granting lands to all who applied for them. In the infant ſtate of theſe colonies, a vagabond went into the midſt of the foreſts and marked out the ſpace of greater or leſs extent which he choſe to occupy, and fixed it's limits by cutting down trees all around it.

THIS confuſion could not laſt long, and yet authority did not chooſe to ſtrip thoſe who had thus ſettled their own rights. It was ordained only that for the future there ſhould be no legitimate property but that which was granted by the adminiſtrators. Protection became then the only rule of the diſtributions, without any regard to talents or to means. Indeed, it was ſtipulated, that they ſhould begin their ſettlements within a year after the grant, and not diſcontinue the clearing of the ground, upon pain of forfeiture. But, beſide the hardſhip of requiring thoſe men to be at the expence of clearing the land, who could not afford to purchaſe, the penalty fell upon thoſe only, who not having the advantage of family and fortune, could not make intereſt with the great; or upon minors, who being left deſtitute by the death of their parents, ought rather to have been aſſiſted by the public; whereas every proprietor who was well recommended or ſupported, was not called to account, though he let his grounds lie fallow.

To this partiality, which evidently retarded the progreſs of the colonies, we may add a number of ill-judged regulations relative to cultivation. Firſt, it was required of every perſon who obtained a grant of land, to plant 500 trenches of manioc for every ſlave he had upon his plantation. This order was equally detrimental both to private and public intereſt, as it compelled the planter to encumber his ground with this ordinary production, when it was able to yield richer crops; and rendered the poor grounds, which were only fit for this kind of culture, uſeleſs. This double error could not but leſſen the growth of all kinds of commodities; and, indeed, this law, which laid a reſtraint upon the diſpoſal of property, has never been ſtrictly put in execution; but as it has alſo never been repealed, it ſtill remains a ſcourge in the hand of an ignorant, capricious, or violent miniſter, who may chuſe to make uſe of it againſt the inhabitants. This evil, great as it is, is, however, the leaſt of thoſe they have to complain of from adminiſtration. The reſtraint of the Agrarian law is ſtill increaſed by the burden of labours impoſed upon the vaſſals.

THERE was a time in Europe, that of the feudal government, when gold and ſilver was little regarded in public or private tranſactions. The nobles ſerved the ſtate, not with their purſes, but with their perſons; and thoſe of their vaſſals, who were their property by right of conqueſt, paid them a kind of quit-rent or homage, either in the fruits of the earth, or in ſo much labour. Theſe cuſtoms, ſo deſtructive to men and lands,

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tended to perpetuate that barbarity to which they owed their riſe. But at length they were gradually laid aſide, as the authority of kings prevailed in overthrowing the independence and tyranny of the great, by reſtoring freedom to the people. The prince, now become the ſole maſter, aboliſhed, as a magiſtrate, ſome abuſes ariſing from the right of war, which deſtroys every other right. But ſeveral of theſe uſurpations, which time had conſecrated, were ſtill retained. That of the average, or a certain proportion of labour required of the vaſſals, has been kept up in ſome ſtates, where the nobles have loſt almoſt every advantage, though the people have not acquired any. The liberty of France is at this day infringed by this public bondage; and this injuſtice has been reduced into a ſyſtem, as if to give it a colour of juſtice.

WHO would imagine that in the moſt enlightened age of the nation, at a time when the rights of man have been moſt rigidly diſcuſſed, when the principles of natural morality have no longer been contradicted, under the reign of a beneficent king, under humane miniſters, and under upright magiſtrates; who would imagine, that it ſhould have been pretended to be conſiſtent with the order of juſtice and agreeable to the conſtitution of the ſtate, that a ſet of unhappy people who have no property, ſhould be dragged from their huts, taken from their repoſe, or from their labours, they, their wives, their children, and their cattle, in order to go and exhauſt themſelves after long fatigues in labours of a new kind;

kind; in the conſtruction of roads, more pompous than they are uſeful, for the benefit of thoſe who poſſeſs every thing, and this without pay and without food.

O MEN! whoſe hearts are of ſteel, go one ſtep further, and you will ſoon perſuade yourſelves that you are allowed!... But here, let me hold: indignation would carry me too far. It is, however, proper to warn government, that the dreadful ſyſtem of vaſſalage is ſtill more fatal to the colonies.

THE culture of theſe lands, from the nature of the climate and of the productions, requiring expedition, cannot eaſily ſpare a number of hands to be ſent to a great diſtance, and employed in public works, which are often uſeleſs, and ſhould never be carried on but by idle perſons. If the mother-country, with all the various means ſhe can employ, has never yet been able to correct or mitigate the hardſhips of vaſſalage, ſhe ought to conſider what evils muſt reſult from them beyond the ſeas, where the direction of theſe works is committed to two overſeers, who can neither be directed, cenſured, nor controuled, in the arbitrary exerciſe of abſolute power. But the burden of theſe ſervices is light, when compared with that of the taxes.

Are the taxes properly levied in the French iſlands?

A TAX may be defined to be a contribution towards public expence, neceſſary for the preſervation of private property. The peaceable enjoyment of lands and revenues requires a proper force to defend them from invaſion, and a police that ſecures the liberty of cultivating them.

Whatever

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Whatever is paid towards the maintenance of public order, is right and juſt; whatever is levied beyond this, is extortion. Now, all the government expences which the mother-country is at for the colonies, are repaid her by the reſtraint laid upon them, to cultivate for her alone, and in ſuch a manner as is beſt adapted to her wants. This ſubjection is the moſt burdenſome of all tributes, and ought to exempt them from all other taxes.

Any one muſt be convinced of this truth, who reflects on the difference of ſituation between the Old World and the New. In Europe, ſubſiſtence and home conſumption are the principal object of culture and of manufactures; exportation only carries off the overplus. In the iſlands, the whole is to be exported. There life and property are equally precarious.

In Europe, war only deprives the manufacturer and the huſbandman of the trade to foreign countries; they ſtill have their reſource in that which circulates in the internal part of the kingdom. In the iſlands, hoſtilities annihilate every thing; there are no more ſales, no more purchaſes, no more circulation; the planter hardly recovers his coſts.

In Europe, the owner of a ſmall eſtate, who is able to make only a few expences, improves his land as much in proportion as he who hath a wide domain and immenſe treaſures. In the iſlands, the improvement of the ſmalleſt plantation requires a tolerable ſtock to begin with.

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In Europe, it is commonly one citizen that is indebted to another; and the ſtate is not impoveriſhed by theſe private debts. Thoſe of the iſlands are of a different nature. Many planters, in order to carry on the labour of clearing their grounds, and to repair the loſſes incurred by the misfortunes of war, which had put a ſtop to their exports, have been obliged to borrow ſuch large ſums, that they may be conſidered rather as farming the trade, than as proprietors of the plantations.

Whether theſe reflections have not occurred to the French miniſtry, or whether particular circumſtances have obliged them to depart from their plan; certain it is, they have added freſh taxes to the obligation already laid on the colonies to draw all their neceſſaries from France, and to ſend thither all their own commodities. Every Negro has been taxed. In ſome ſettlements, this poll-tax has been confined to the working blacks; in others, it was laid on all the ſlaves without diſtinction. Both theſe arrangements have been oppoſed by the colony aſſembled at St. Domingo. Let us now judge of the force of their arguments.

Children, old and infirm men, make up about one-third of the ſlaves. Far from being uſeful to the planter, ſome of them are only a burden, which humanity alone can prompt him to ſupport, while the reſt can afford him but diſtant and uncertain hopes. It is difficult to conceive how the treaſury ſhould have thought

of taxing an object that is already chargeable to the owner.

The poll-tax upon blacks extends beyond the grave; that is to say, it is fixed upon a person who exists no more. If a slave should die after the assessment has been made, the planter, who is already unhappy on account of the diminution in his income and of his capital, is still obliged to pay a tax, which reminds him of his losses, and makes him feel them more sensibly.

Even the working slaves are not an exact tariff of the appraisement of a planter's income. With a few Negroes, a good soil will yield more than a poor one with a great number. The commodities are not all of the same value, though they are all procured by the labour of those persons upon whom the tax is equally laid. The changing from one kind of culture to another, which the ground requires, suspends for a while the produce of labour. Droughts, inundations, fires, devouring insects, often destroy the fruits of labour. Suppose all things alike, a less number of hands makes in proportion a less quantity of sugar; either because the whole of the wants must be taken into consideration, or because labour is truly advantageous so far only as the most favourable opportunities can be improved.

The poll-tax upon blacks becomes still more oppressive in time of war. A planter who cannot then dispose of his commodities, and must run in debt to support himself and to keep up his land, is further obliged to pay a tax for slaves, whose labour will hardly be equivalent to their maintenance.

hance. Nay, he is often conſtrained to ſend them at a diſtance from his plantation for the imaginary wants of the colony, to ſupport them there at his own expence, and to ſee them periſh without any reaſon, while he is under the ſevere neceſſity of replacing them one time or other, if ever he means to retrieve his waſted and almoſt ruined lands.

THE burden of the poll-tax was ſtill heavier upon ſuch of the proprietors as were abſent from the colony, for theſe were condemned to pay the tax treble; which was the more unjuſt, as it was matter of indifference to France whether her commodities were conſumed at home or in the iſlands. Could it be her intention to hinder the emigration of the coloniſts? But it is only by the mildneſs of the government that citizens can be induced to fix in a country, not by prohibitions and penalties. Beſides, men who by hazardous labours carried on in a ſultry climate, had contributed to the public proſperity, ought to have been indulged in the liberty of ending their days in the temperate regions of the mother-country. Nothing could more effectually rouze the ambition and activity of numbers of idle people, than to be ſpectators of their fortune; and the ſtate might thus be relieved of the load of theſe uſeleſs men, to the profit of induſtry and commerce.

NOTHING can be more detrimental to both than this taxing of the blacks, as the neceſſity of ſelling obliges the planter to lower the price of his commodities. A moderate price may be an advantageous circumſtance, when it is the reſult of great plenty, and of a very quick circulation.

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But it is ruinous to be obliged to loſe conſtantly upon one's merchandize, in order to pay taxes. Finance, is like a foul ulcer, in which the mortified fleſh deſtroys the live fleſh. In proportion as the blood is conveyed into the wound by the circulation, it becomes corrupted there while it ſupplies it. The profits of trade are all abſorbed by the treaſury, which is continually receiving, without making any returns.

Lastly, it is a very difficult matter to levy this tax. Every proprietor muſt give in an annual account of the number of his ſlaves. To prevent falſe entries, they muſt be verified by clerks, or exciſemen. Every Negro that is not entered muſt be forfeited; which is a very abſurd practice, becauſe every labouring Negro is ſo much ſtock, and by the forfeiture of him the culture is diminiſhed, and the very object for which the duty was laid, is annihilated. Thus it happens that in the colonies, where the ſucceſs of every thing depends upon the tranquillity which is enjoyed, a deſtructive war is carried on between the financier and the planter. Law-ſuits are numerous, removals frequent, rigorous meaſures become neceſſary, and the coſts are great and ruinous.

If the Negro-tax be unjuſt in it's extent, unequal in it's repartition, and complicate in the mode of levying it, the tax laid upon the commodities that are carried out of the colonies is nearly as injudicious. The government have ventured to impoſe this duty, from a perſuaſion that it would fall entirely upon the conſumer and the merchant; but there

there cannot be a more dangerous error in political œconomy than this is.

The act of conſuming does not ſupply money to buy what is conſumed; this muſt be gained by labour; and all labour, if things are traced up to their origin, is, in fact, paid by the firſt proprietor out of the produce of the earth. This being the caſe, no one article can be always growing dearer, but all the reſt muſt riſe in proportion. In this ſituation, there is no profit to be made upon any of them. If this equilibrium between the articles of commerce be removed, the conſumption of the advanced article will decreaſe; and, if it decreaſe, the price will fall of courſe, and the dearneſs will have been only tranſient.

The merchant can no more take the duty upon him, than the conſumer. He may, indeed, advance it once or twice; but if he cannot make a natural and neceſſary profit upon the commodities ſo taxed, he will ſoon diſcontinue that branch of trade. To hope that competition will force him to take the payment of the duty out of his profits, is to ſuppoſe that they were exorbitant; and that the competition, which was then inſufficient, will become more conſiderable when the profits are leſs. If, on the other hand, things were as they ought to be, and the profits no more than neceſſary, it is ſuppoſing that the competition will ſubſiſt, though the profits that gave riſe to it ſubſiſt no longer. We muſt admit all theſe abſurdities, or allow that it is the planter in the iſlands who pays the duty, whether it be levied from the firſt, ſecond, or hundredth hand.

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FAR from thus burdening the cultivation of the colonies with taxes, it ought to be encouraged by liberalities; ſince by the ſtate of reſtraint in which trade is kept, theſe liberalities, with all the advantages ariſing from them, muſt neceſſarily return to the mother-country.

IF the ſituation of a ſtate, that is in arrears on account of loſſes or miſmanagement, will not admit of liberalities, or eaſing the ſubjects of their burdens, the payment of the taxes in the colonies themſelves might, at leaſt, be ſuppreſſed, and the produce of them levied at home. This would be the next beſt ſyſtem that could be purſued, and would be equally agreeable to the Old and New World.

NOTHING is ſo pleaſing to an American, as to remove from his ſight every thing that denotes his dependence. Wearied with the importunities of collectors, he abhors ſtanding taxes, and dreads the increaſe of them. He in vain ſeeks for that liberty which he thought to have found at the diſtance of two thouſand leagues from Europe. He diſdains a yoke which purſues him acroſs the ſtorms of the ocean. Diſcontented, and inwardly repining at the reſtraint he ſtill feels, he thinks with indignation on his native country which, under the name of mother, calls for his blood, inſtead of feeding him. Remove the image of his chains from his ſight; let his riches pay their tribute to the mother-country only at landing there, and he will fancy himſelf free and privileged; though at the ſame time, by lowering the value of his own commodities, and enhancing

he price of thoſe that come from Europe, he, in act, ultimately bears the load of a tax of which he s ignorant.

NAVIGATORS will alſo find an advantage in paying duties only upon goods that have reached the place of their deſtination in their full value, and without any riſque, and will reſtore the capital of their ſtock along with the profits. They will not then have the mortification of having purchaſed of the Prince the very hazards of ſhipwreck, and of oſing a cargo for which they had paid duty at mbarking. Their ſhips, on the contrary, will bring back, in merchandize, the amount of the duty; and the productions being advanced in value by exportation, the duty will hardly be elt.

LASTLY, the conſumer himſelf will be a gainer by it; becauſe the coloniſt and the merchant cannot benefit by any regulation, of which in time the conſumer will not experience the good effects. All the taxes will no ſooner be reduced to a ſingle one, but trade will be clogged with fewer formalities, fewer delays, fewer charges, and conſequently the commodities can be ſold at a more reaſonable rate.

THIS ſyſtem of moderation, which every thing ſeems to point out as the fitteſt, will be eaſily introduced. All the productions of the iſlands are ſubject, at their entry into the kingdom, to a duty know'n by the name of *Domaine d'Occident*, or Weſtern Domain, which is fixed at three and a half per cent. with eight ſols * per pound. The value

* Four-pence.

of theſe productions, which is the rule for the payment of the duty, is determined in the months of January and July. It is fixed at twenty, or five and twenty per cent. below the real price. The weſtern office allows, beſides, a more conſiderable tare than the ſeller in trade does. Add to this duty that which the commodities pay at the cuſtom-houſes of the colonies, which produces nearly the ſame, and thoſe that are paid in the inland parts of the iſlands; and we ſhall have the whole of the revenue which the government draws from the ſettlements in America.

If this fund were confounded with the other revenues of the ſtate, we might be apprehenſive that it was not applied to it's deſtination, which ſhould be ſolely the protection of the iſlands. The unforeſeen exigencies of the royal treaſury would infallibly divert it into another channel. There are ſome moments when the critical ſtate of the diſeaſe will not admit of calculating the inconveniencies of the remedy. The moſt urgent neceſſity engroſſes all the attention. Nothing then is ſecured from the hand of arbitrary power urged by the wants of the preſent moment. The miniſtry is continually drawing out of the treaſury, under the deluſive hopes of replacing in a ſhort time what they have received; but the execution of this deſign is perpetually retarded by freſh demands.

Hence it appears, that it would be highly neceſſary that the treaſury, deſtined for the duties on the productions of the colonies, ſhould be kept wholly ſeparate from that deſtined to receive the

revenue

evenues of the kingdom. The ſums depoſited here, as in truſt, would always be ready to anwer the demands of thoſe ſettlements. The coniſt who always has ſtock to ſend over to Europe, would gladly give it for bills of exchange, vhen he was once aſſured that they would meet vith no delays or difficulties in the payment of hem. This kind of bank would ſoon create anther means of communication between the moher-country and the iſlands; the court would e better acquainted with the ſtate of their affairs n theſe diſtant countries, and would recover the redit they have long ſince loſt; but which is of he utmoſt conſequence, eſpecially in time of war. We ſhall now put an end to our diſcuſſions on axes, and conſider the regulations reſpecting the militia.

Is the militia well regulated in the French iſlands?

THE French iſlands, like thoſe of other naions, had no regular troops at firſt. The adventurers, who had conquered them, looked upon the right of defending themſelves as a priviege; and the deſcendents of thoſe intrepid men thought themſelves ſufficiently ſtrong to guard their own poſſeſſions. They had nothing, indeed, to do but to repulſe a few veſſels, which anded ſome ſailors and ſoldiers, as undiſciplined as themſelves.

THE ſituation of affairs has, indeed, undergone an alteration. As theſe ſettlements became more conſiderable, it was to be expected that they would, ſooner or later, be attacked by numerous European fleets and armies; and this made it neceſſary to ſend them other defenders. The event has

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ſhew'n the inſufficiency of a few ſcattered battalions, to oppoſe the land and ſea forces of England. The coloniſts themſelves have been convinced that their own efforts could never prevent a revolution; and fearing that a fruitleſs reſiſtance would only exaſperate a victorious enemy, they were more inclined to capitulate than to fight. Having become political calculators, their weakneſs made them ſenſible that they were unfit for military operations, and they have contributed their money in order to be diſcharged from a ſervice, which, though glorious in it's principle, had degenerated into a burdenſome ſervitude. The militia was ſuppreſſed in 1763.

THIS act of compliance has been applauded by thoſe who only conſidered this inſtitution as the means of preſerving the colonies from all foreign invaſions. They very ſenſibly imagined, that it was unreaſonable to require that men, who were grow'n old under the hardſhips of a ſcorching climate, in order to raiſe a large fortune, ſhould expoſe themſelves to the ſame dangers as thoſe poor victims of our ambition, who are perpetually hazarding their lives for a pay which is not ſufficient for their ſubſiſtence. Such a ſacrifice hath appeared to them too unreaſonable to expect it ſhould be complied with; and the miniſtry, who ſaw the impropriety of keeping up ſuch a vain and burdenſome ſervice, have therefore diſcontinued it, and been commended.

THOSE who are better acquainted with the American ſettlements, have not judged ſo favourably of this innovation. The militia, ſay they,

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is neceſſary to preſerve the interior police of the iſlands; to prevent the revolt of the ſlaves; to check the incurſions of the fugitive Negroes; to hinder the banditti from aſſembling in troops; to protect the navigation along the coaſts, and to keep off the privateers. If the inhabitants be not embodied; if they have neither commanders nor ſtandards, how can they avert ſo many dangers? How will it be poſſible to diſſipate theſe deſtructive calamities, when they have not been able to check them before they broke out? From whence will ariſe that harmony and uniformity of action, without which nothing can be carried on with propriety?

These reflections, which, though ſtriking and natural, had at firſt eſcaped the court of Verſailles, ſoon produced an alteration in their conduct. They became convinced of the neceſſity of reſtoring the militia, but without giving up the taxes which were agreed to for the ſupport of the regular troops. It was a difficult matter to diſpoſe the people to conſent to this arrangement. The miniſtry negotiated, bribed, and threatened. Guadalupe and Martinico, though diſpleaſed with the abuſes committed by an inconſtant and precipitate authority, ſubmitted at length, in 1767, to the wiſhes of adminiſtration, but this example did not make the impreſſion upon St. Domingo that was deſired, and perhaps expected. The year following it became neceſſary to carry on a war againſt this rich colony, and it was not till after the magiſtrates of the weſt and ſouth of the iſland had been throw'n into priſon, and till the

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earth was ſtrewed with dead bodies, that it was poſſible to reduce to ſubmiſſion the planters, exaſperated by the vexations of a rapacious government.

SINCE this period, unfortunately ſtamped with characters of blood, all the inhabitants of the other hemiſphere are again embodied. The obligations that are impoſed by this kind of regiſtring are various, and are not yet properly explained. This obſcurity, which is always dangerous in the hands of rulers, who are perpetually intent upon the extending of their juriſdiction, keeps the citizens in continual alarms for their liberty, which they are more jealous of in the colonies than we are in Europe; it expoſes them to numberleſs vexations. The evils it has occaſioned have excited a deteſtation for this kind of ſervitude, which none but tyrants or ſlaves can be ſurpriſed at. It is neceſſary, if poſſible, to eradicate the impreſſions of the paſt, and remove all miſtruſt for the future. The legiſlature will ſucceed in this by making all thoſe alterations in the form of the militia, which are conſiſtent with it's object; which is, to maintain public order and ſafety. The welfare of the people is the great end of all authority. If the actions of the ſovereign do not tend to this end, his exiſtence will be ſupported only by the aſſiſtance of money, or the ſanction of old records, which time will deſtroy, or poſterity deſpiſe. In vain does flattery raiſe numberleſs and magnificent monuments to princes; the hand of man erects them, but it is the heart that conſecrates them, and affection that renders them immortal.

immortal. Without this, public trophies are only a proof of the meanneſs of the people, not of the greatneſs of the ruler. There is one ſtatue in Paris, the ſight of which makes every heart exult with ſentiments of affection. Every eye is turned with complacency towards this image of paternal and popular goodneſs. The tears of the diſtreſſed ſilently call upon it under the hardſhips of oppreſſion. Men ſecretly bleſs the hero it immortalizes. All voices unite to celebrate his memory after two centuries are elapſed. His name is in veneration to the uttermoſt parts of America. In every heart he proteſts againſt the abuſes of authority; he declares againſt the uſurpations of the rights of the people; he promiſes the ſubjects the redreſs of their grievances, and an increaſe of proſperity; and demands both of the miniſtry.

Is the regulation of inheritance properly ſettled in the French iſlands?

AMONG the circumſtances which require reformation, we ought to reckon a cuſtom eſtabliſhed in the French poſſeſſions in the New World, of dividing equally the paternal inheritance among all the children, and the inheritance of a relation among all the coheirs.

WE hold in abhorrence, with all reaſonable men, whom pride or prejudice have not corrupted, the abſurd right of primogeniture, which transfers the entire patrimony of a family to the eldeſt ſon, whoſe morals are corrupted by it; which reduces his brothers and ſiſters to a ſtate of indigence, and puniſhes them, as it were, for the caſual fault of having been born a few years too late. Are they the leſs legitimate on that account? and is the perſon who hath given them exiſtence

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existence the less responsible for their happiness? A chief of a family is nothing more than a depositary; and is a depositary ever allowed to make an unequal division of his trust between persons who have an equal claim? If a savage should be in possession, at his death, of two bows, and should have two children; and if he should be asked, what was to be done with the two bows; would he not answer, that one should be given to each of his children? And if he were to bequeath them both to one, would it not be understood that he had considered the excluded child as not being his own offspring? In the countries where this monstrous custom of disinheriting is authorized, the father is the least respected by all; by the eldest, because he can take nothing away from him; and by the youngest children, because he can give them nothing. To filial affection, which is extinguished, succeeds a meanness of sentiment, which accustoms three or four children, almost as soon as they are born, to cringe to one alone, who from this circumstance conceives a degree of personal importance, which seldom fails to render him insolent. Respectable parents are apprehensive of multiplying around them a number of indigent persons, who are to be condemned to celibacy. The whole inheritance is placed in the hands of a madman, whose dissipations can only be put a stop to by substitution, which is another evil. Calamities of so great magnitude must necessarily suggest the idea, that the right of primogeniture, which was not originally consecrated by superstition, and which despotism hath

hath no intereſt in perpetuating, will, ſooner or later, be aboliſhed. It is the remains of feudal barbariſm, which our deſcendents will one day be aſhamed of.

The law of equality, however, which ſeems dictated by nature; which occurs inſtantly to every juſt and good man; which leaves no doubt in the mind as to it's rectitude and utility; this law may ſometimes, perhaps, be prejudicial to the preſervation of ſociety. We have an inſtance of this in the French iſlands, which it diverts from the end of their deſtination, and gradually paves the way for their ruin.

This diviſion was neceſſary at the firſt formation of colonies. Immenſe tracts of lands were to be cleared. This could not be done without people; nor could men, who had quitted their own country for want, be any otherwiſe fixed in thoſe diſtant and deſert regions, than by aſſigning them a property. Had the government refuſed to grant them lands, they would have wandered about from one place to another; they would have begun to eſtabliſh various ſettlements, and have had the diſappointment to find, that none of them would attain to that degree of proſperity as to become uſeful to the mother-country.

But ſince inheritances, too extenſive at firſt, have in proceſs of time been reduced by a ſeries of ſucceſſions, and by the ſubdiviſions of ſhares, to ſuch a compaſs as renders them fit to facilitate cultivation; ſince they have been ſo limited as not to lie fallow for want of hands proportionable to their

extent, a further diviſion of lands would again reduce them to nothing. In Europe, an obſcure man, who has but a few acres of land, will make that little eſtate more advantageous to him in proportion, than an opulent man will the immenſe property he is poſſeſſed of, either by inheritance or chance. In America, the nature of the productions, which are very valuable; the uncertainty of the crops, which are but few in their kind; the quantity of ſlaves, of cattle, of utenſils neceſſary for a plantation; all this requires a large ſtock, which they have not in ſome, and will ſoon want in all the colonies, if the lands be parcelled out and divided more and more by hereditary ſucceſſions.

If a father leave an eſtate of 30,000 livres * a year, and this eſtate be equally divided between three children, they will all be ruined if they make three diſtinct plantations; the one, becauſe he has been made to pay too much for the buildings, and becauſe he has too few Negroes, and too little land in proportion; the other two, becauſe they muſt build before they can begin upon the culture of their land. They will all be equally ruined, if the whole plantation ſhould remain in the hands of one of the three. In a country where a creditor is in a worſe ſtate than any other man, eſtates have riſen to an immoderate value. The poſſeſſor of the whole will be very fortunate if he is obliged to pay no more for intereſt than the net produce of the plantation. Now, as the primary

* 1,250 l.

law

law of nature is the procuring of ſubſiſtence, he will begin with procuring that without paying his debts. Theſe will accumulate, and he will ſoon become inſolvent, and the confuſion conſequent upon ſuch a ſituation will end in the ruin of the whole family.

THE only way to remedy theſe diſorders, is to aboliſh the equality of the diviſion of land. In this enlightened age, government ſhould ſee the neceſſity of letting the colonies be more ſtocked with things than with men. The wiſdom of the legiſlature will, doubtleſs, find out ſome compenſation for thoſe it has injured, and in ſome meaſure ſacrificed to the welfare of the community. They ought to be placed upon freſh lands, and to ſubſiſt by their own labour. This is the only way to maintain this ſort of men; and their induſtry would open a freſh ſource of wealth to the ſtate.

AT the concluſion of the peace, a favourable opportunity offered itſelf for making the propoſed alteration in St. Lucia and Guiana. The French ought not to have neglected this opportunity, perhaps the only one that will offer, to repeal the law relating to the diviſions of eſtates, by diſtributing to thoſe, whoſe expectations they had fruſtrated, ſuch lands as they intended to cultivate; and by giving them thoſe conſiderable ſums that have been expended to no purpoſe, as the neceſſary advance for carrying on the cultivation. Men inured to the climate, acquainted with the only kind of culture that could poſſibly be thought of, encouraged by the example, aſſiſtance, and advice

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vice of their own families, and aided by the ſlaves with which government would have ſupplied them, were much fitter for this purpoſe than a ſet of profligate men, collected from the refuſe of Europe, and were not much more likely to raiſe new colonies to that pitch of wealth and proſperity which might be expected. Unfortunately, it was not foreſeen, that the firſt colonies in America muſt have increaſed by ſlow degrees and of themſelves, with the loſs of a great many men, or by extraordinary exertions of bravery and patience, becauſe they had no competition to ſupport; but that the ſucceeding ſettlements could only be formed by the natural means of population, as an old ſwarm begets a new one. The overflowings of population in one iſland muſt ſpread into another; and the ſuperfluities of a rich colony furniſh neceſſaries to an infant ſettlement. This is the natural order which good policy points out to maritime and commercial powers. All other methods are irrational and deſtructive. Though the court of Verſailles have overlooked this plain principle, productive of ſo much good, this is no reaſon why they ſhould reject the propoſal of putting a ſtop to the further diviſion of lands. If the neceſſity of ſuch a law be evident, it muſt be enacted, though the preſent time be leſs favourable than that which has been neglected. When the plantations are reſtored to their ſtate of proſperity, by the ſuppreſſion of that diviſion of land, which precludes every means of improvement, the planters may then be compelled to clear themſelves

ſelves of the debts with which their plantations are now oppreſſed.

Has the payment of the debts contracted by the French iſlands been wiſely provided for?

PART of theſe debts originated from the claims that were allowed by an injudicious law, to the ſeveral coheirs. This diſtreſſed ſituation hath increaſed in proportion as the colonies have acquired more wealth. When they had increaſed ſo far, as that the number of inhabitants became ſuperior to the plantations, the ſuperabundant part of the population remained idle creditors of the lands they did not occupy, and conſequently uſeleſs, and even burthenſome to the culture.

THERE are other credits proceeding from the ſale which the coloniſts have reciprocally made of their habitations. We ſeldom go to America, without the proſpect of enjoying in Europe thoſe riches, which are commonly acquired by obſtinate labour, or by fortunate events. Thoſe who do not loſe ſight of this aim, live with more or leſs œconomy, and ſend to their own country all that they have been able to ſave out of their income. As ſoon as they have acquired that degree of fortune to which they aſpired, they endeavour to diſpoſe of their plantations. In a country where the ſpecie is deficient, it is neceſſary to ſell them upon credit, or to keep them; and moſt of the proprietors rather chuſe to give up their poſſeſſions to purchaſers who ſometimes fail in their engagements, than to truſt them in the hands of ſtewards who are ſeldom faithful.

LASTLY, The advances made to the coloniſts have been the occaſion of much credit being given. The lands of the French iſlands, as well

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as of the other iſlands in America, did not originally yield any production fit for exportation. Funds were neceſſary to clear them, and the firſt Europeans who occupied them had no property. Trade came to their aſſiſtance; it furniſhed them with utenſils, proviſions, and ſlaves, neceſſary to form productions. This aſſociation between monied and induſtrious people gave birth to a great number of debts, which have multiplied in proportion as the plantations have increaſed.

The debtors have but too often failed in fulfilling the obligations they had contracted. An inordinate luxury, which cannot be excuſed in men who are born in miſery, hath compelled ſeveral of them to this breach of faith. Others have been draw'n into it by an indolence, inconceivable in eager minds, that had gone beyond the ſeas to ſeek an end to their indigence. The moſt abundant means have been loſt in the hands of ſome people, who were deſtitute of the ſkill neceſſary to improve them. There have been likewiſe ſome planters devoid of ſhame, and without principle, who, though capable of ſettling with their creditors, have daringly withholden the property of others. Other cauſes have likewiſe occurred in leſſening the force of engagements.

Hurricanes, the violence of which cannot be eaſily deſcribed, ſubverted the country, and deſtroyed the crops. The moſt expenſive and the moſt neceſſary buildings have been ſwallowed up by earthquakes. Inſects, which could not be deſtroyed, have devoured, during a long ſeries of years, all the produce that might have been expected

pected from a fertile and well-cultivated ſoil. Some commodities, the produce of which hath exceeded their conſumption, have loſt their value, and have fallen into the utmoſt contempt. Long and cruel wars, by oppoſing inſurmountable obſtacles to the exportation of the productions, have rendered uſeleſs the moſt conſtant and moſt obſtinate labours.

These calamities which have ſometimes happened at the ſame time, or which have at leaſt ſucceeded each other too rapidly, have given riſe to a ſyſtem of juriſprudence favourable to the debtors. The legiſlature have encumbered the ſeizure of lands and ſlaves with ſo many formalities, that it ſhould ſeem as if their deſign had been to render it impracticable. The public opinion hath branded the ſmall number of creditors who have undertaken to overcome theſe difficulties; and the tribunals themſelves did not accede, without extreme reluctance, to the rigorous meaſures they were deſirous of purſuing.

This ſyſtem, which hath appeared for a long time the beſt that could be followed, hath ſtill it's partiſans. What is it to the ſtate, ſay theſe political calculators, whether the riches be in the hands of the creditor or of the debtor, provided public proſperity be increaſed? But can public proſperity increaſe when juſtice is trampled upon; when adminiſtration encourages a breach of faith, by offering it an aſylum under the protection of the laws, for if the laws do not proſecute they protect; when the ſeeds of miſtruſt are encouraged among citizens, which muſt in time render

render them ſo many rogues, and enemies to each other; when loans, without any kind of ſecurity, ſhall have become impoſſible, or ruinous; when the rapaciouſneſs of uſury ſhall be exerciſed without reſtraint; when credit ſhall no longer exiſt either in or out of the ſtate; and when the whole nation ſhall be conſidered as a ſet of men, devoid of principles, and of morality. General felicity can have no ſolid foundation, without the validity of engagements from whence it ariſes. Even the government ought only to free itſelf from it's incumbrances according to the rules of juſtice. A bankruptcy of the ſtate is infamous, and ſtill more prejudicial to the morality of ſociety than to the fortunes of individuals. A time will come, when all theſe iniquities ſhall be ſummoned to the tribunal of nations, and when the power which hath committed them ſhall be judged by it's victims.

OTHER ſpeculators, not ſo looſe in their principles, have aſſerted, that an enlightened legiſlation would annul the debts anterior to a period which ought to be fixed. We will not examine whether this practice of ſome antient republics hath ever been ſalutary; but we will affirm, without any fear of miſtaking, that ſuch a breach of the public faith, if it were common, would again plunge Europe, now become commercial into that ſtate of inaction and miſery in which it was three or four centuries ago. Fortunately this deſtructive revolution is not to be apprehended. The reſpect for property increaſes daily even among the leaſt enlightened nations. In proceſ

proceſs of time, it will be eſtabliſhed in the French iſlands, as well as elſewhere, when government ſhall at length compel the coloniſts to give ſome kind of ſatisfaction to their creditors. The beſt method of bringing about this act of juſtice is not yet agreed upon.

SOME perſons are deſirous of ſumptuary laws, which, by reſtraining the expences of the inhabitants, would enable them to fulfil their engagements. How could ſuch an idea ever enter into the minds of men, to eſtabliſh this ſyſtem of privation as a maxim in the colonies? The value of their productions being entirely owen to exchanges, would not the annihilation of theſe compel the Americans either to raiſe few commodities, or to ſell them for a trifle? Should the mother-country be willing to make up in money the deficiencies in the ſale of their merchandize, then all the gold that is draw'n from one part of America would return into the other. After fifteen or twenty years of ſuch a trade, the powers that are enemies to France would have an additional motive for attacking poſſeſſions, the fertility of which excites in them ſo much ſurprize and jealouſy.

OTHERS have imagined, that all kind of credit ſhould henceforward be prohibited. But would not the cultures already eſtabliſhed ſuffer from ſo abſurd a ſyſtem? Would not the cultivation of the virgin lands, which are generally moſt productive, be impeded? Would not the operations of the merchants in the mother-country become daily more languid?

It is well know'n how reluctantly they ſee the rich planter accuſtom himſelf to ſend his own productions to Europe, to draw the articles of his own conſumption from thence, and reduce his correſpondents to the bare profits of commiſſion. If that dependence, which is a neceſſary conſequence of debts, ſhould ceaſe, they would no longer be a few planters, but the whole colony, who would make their own purchaſes and ſales in the mother-country; they would all become traders, and even would ſoon have no competitors, becauſe they alone would be acquainted with the meaſure of their own wants.

Several perſons have wiſhed that it ſhould be permitted to ſeize and to ſell the Negroes of debtors. Then the ſlaves who ſhould ceaſe to work upon one plantation, would be employed upon another, and the colony would not be injured. This is a miſtake; the Negroes will never be made to paſs, without miſchief, from one plantation to another. Theſe men, already too unhappy, would not contract the freſh habits required by a change of place, of maſter, of method, and of employment. They cannot live without their miſtreſſes and their children, which are their deareſt comforts, and the only thing that makes them endure life. Separated from this only conſolation to men in affliction, they pine away, and ſicken, and frequently deſert, or at leaſt they work but with reluctance and careleſſneſs.

Moreover, by ſecuring the payment of one creditor, ſeveral would infallibly be ruined. The

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moſt intelligent and the moſt active planters, deprived of part of the hands requiſite for the labours of their plantations, would ſoon become inſolvent, and would continue ſo for ever.

Honour hath appeared to ſome people a more effectual reſource than any other. Stamp, ſay they, but a mark of infamy upon the fraudulent debtor, render him incapable of ever exerciſing any public office, and we need not apprehend he will ſport with this prejudice. The moſt rapacious of men, and eſpecially the American planters, ſacrifice a part of their lives to hard labour, with no other view than to enjoy their fortune. But there is no enjoyment for a man who is branded with infamy. Obſerve only how punctually all debts of honour are paid. It is not an exceſs of delicacy, it is not a love of juſtice, that brings back the ruined gameſter, within four-and-twenty hours, to the feet of his creditor, who, perhaps, is no better than a ſharper; it is the ſenſe of honour; it is the dread of being excluded from ſociety. But in what age, and what period, do we here invoke the ſacred name of honour? Should not the government ſet the example of that juſtice, the practice of which it means to inculcate? Is it poſſible that public opinion ſhould diſgrace individuals for actions which the ſtate openly commits? When infamy has inſinuated itſelf into families, into great houſes, into the higheſt places, even into the camp and the ſanctuary, can there be any ſenſe of ſhame remaining? What man will henceforth be jealous of his

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honour, while thoſe who are called men of honour, know of no other than that of being rich to get places, or of getting places to grow rich; when a man muſt cringe in order to riſe; pleaſe the great and the women to ſerve the ſtate; and when the art of being agreeable, implies at leaſt an indifference for every virtue? Shall honour, which ſeems to be baniſhed from Europe, take refuge in America?

The court of Verſailles, perpetually led aſtray by the adminiſtrators of it's colonies, have always appeared deſirous that the payment of debts ſhould depend entirely upon their arbitrary deciſion. They have never comprehended that this was eſtabliſhing a ſyſtem of tyranny in the New World. Ignorant, capricious, intereſted, or vindictive chiefs, may ſelect, at pleaſure, thoſe debtors whom it may ſuit them to ruin. It is equally in their power to commit injuſtices towards the creditors. It will neither be the oldeſt nor the moſt diſtreſſed, nor the moſt honeſt creditor whom they will cauſe to be paid; but the moſt powerful, the beſt protected, the moſt active, or the moſt violent. Authority ought not to take place of juſtice, nor probity or virtue of the law, in any part of the world, or from any motive whatever; becauſe all authority is liable to corruption, and becauſe there is no probity or virtue which may not be ſhaken.

Two centuries, waſted in attempts, experiments, and combinations, muſt have convinced the French miniſtry, that the calamity which we here deplore, can only be put a ſtop to by clear and

and plain regulations, eaſily carried into execution. When creditors ſhall be able, without delays, without expence, and without reſtraining formalities, to take poſſeſſion of all the property of their debtors; then only will order be eſtabliſhed. This ſevere act of juriſprudence ſhould not have a retroactive effect. Humanity and policy will indicate the proper medium to be adopted for the liquidation of old debts. But with reſpect to new engagements, nothing ſhould ſcreen them from the rigour of the law that ſhould be enacted.

VERY bitter remonſtrances will certainly be made at firſt. Where ſhall we find, will it be ſaid, a planter ſo raſh as to attempt an undertaking of any conſequence, when he ſhall be certain of ruin, if his labours ſhould not be ſeconded by chance and by the elements, upon the day appointed for him to fulfil his engagements? The dread of miſery and of ignominy will ſeize upon the minds of all men. Henceforward there will be no loans, no buſineſs, no circulation. Induſtry will degenerate into ſloth, and credit will be deſtroyed by the very ſyſtem adopted to re-eſtabliſh it.

WE have no doubt but that this would be the language of the coloniſts in the firſt inſtance; but in the end, and even in a ſhort time, this arrangement would be moſt agreeable to thoſe who had been at firſt the moſt violent againſt it. Informed by public knowlege and by experience, they would be ſenſible that the facility of putting off payment had been burdenſome to them, and

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that they had found credit only by purchaſing it upon ſuch terms as were ſufficient to balance the riſque of lending to them.

The indulgences which might have been proper in the early ſtate of the colonies, would, in our days, become an inexcuſable weakneſs. Theſe ſettlements will never thrive as they ought to do, unleſs the means of cultivation be multiplied; which they will not be, till the creditor be enabled to put an entire confidence in his debtor. The ſyſtem which is favourable to want of ſkill, to raſh undertakings, and to diſhoneſty, muſt be overturned; and the face of all things will ſoon be changed. The European merchant, who at preſent only advances trifling ſums to the American planter, and that with great apprehenſions, will not find a better way of employing his capital. With greater aſſiſtances, other plantations would be formed; and the old ones will acquire a new value. The French iſlands will at length arrive to that degree of fortune, to which the richneſs of their ſoil hath, in vain, for ſo long a time invited them. If, notwithſtanding the progreſs of knowlege, the court of Verſailles ſhould not be able to contrive a ſyſtem of legiſlation, more wiſe and more perfect than that which is eſtabliſhed in the Engliſh and in the Dutch poſſeſſions, they muſt not heſitate to adopt the ſame. Already have theſe three powers ſhew'n other marks of conformity in their principles. They have alike concentrated the connections of their American ſettlements in the mother-country.

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Has the mother-country, in compelling the iſlands to deliver their produce only to herſelf, ſufficiently ſecured the exportation of them?

ALL the colonies have not had the ſame origin. Some took their riſe from the reſtleſs ſpirit of ſome tribes of barbarians, who, after having long wandered through deſert countries, fixed themſelves at laſt, from mere wearineſs, in any one where they might form a nation. Others, driven out of their own territory by ſome powerful enemy, or allured by chance to a better climate than their own, have removed thither, and ſhared the lands with the natives. An exceſs of population, an abhorrence for tyranny, factions, and revolutions, have induced other citizens to quit their native country, and to go and build new cities in foreign climes. The ſpirit of conqueſt made ſome ſoldiers ſettle in the countries they had ſubdued, to ſecure the property of them to themſelves. None of theſe colonies were firſt formed with a view to trade. Even thoſe that were founded by Tyre, Carthage, and Marſeilles, which were all commercial republics, were only meant for neceſſary retreats upon barbarous coaſts, and for marts, where ſhips that were come from different ports, and tired with a long voyage, reciprocally made their exchanges.

THE conqueſt of America gave the firſt idea of a new kind of ſettlement, the baſis of which is agriculture. The governments that founded thoſe colonies, choſe that ſuch of their ſubjects as as they ſent thither, ſhould not have it in their power to conſume any thing but what they drew from the mother-country, or to ſell the produce of their lands to any other ſtate. This double obligation has appeared to all nations to be conſonant

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ſonant to the law of nature, independent of all conventions, and ſelf-evident. They have not looked upon an excluſive intercourſe with their own colonies as an immoderate compenſation for the expences of ſettling and preſerving them. This has conſtantly been the ſyſtem of Europe relative to America.

France, like other nations, was always deſirous that it's ſettlements of the New World ſhould ſend all their productions to the mother-country, and ſhould receive all their proviſions from thence. But, in the preſent ſtate of things, this arrangement is impracticable.

The iſlands are in want of flour, wine, oil, linen, ſtuffs, houſhold furniture, and every thing that contributes to the conveniencies of life. They muſt receive all theſe things from the mother-country, which even ſuppoſing a ſyſtem of indefinite liberty, would ſell them excluſively, except flour, which North America might furniſh at a cheaper rate.

But theſe poſſeſſions are likewiſe in want of Negroes to carry on the labours. The mother-country hath hitherto ſupplied this deficiency in a very imperfect manner only. It therefore becomes neceſſary to have recourſe to the Engliſh, who are alone able to fill up the void. The only precaution which would be proper to be taken, would be, to eſtabliſh, perhaps, upon the ſuccours received from theſe rivals, a duty that would deprive them of the advantages which particular circumſtances give them over the French merchants.

Lastly,

LASTLY, in the preſent ſtate of the colonies, cattle, ſalt fiſh, and foreign woods, are become abſolutely neceſſary for them. It muſt be conſidered as an impoſſibility to convey them from Europe; and it is only from New England that they can obtain theſe means which are eſſentially requiſite for the culture of their plantations.

SMUGGLING, more or leſs tolerated, hath been hitherto the only reſource of the planters; but this method, beſide being too expenſive, is diſhoneſt and inſufficient. It is time that prohibitive laws ſhould give way to the imperious law of neceſſity. Government ſhould point out the ports where foreign productions may be received; they ſhould ſettle the proviſions which ſhould be allowed to be carried; they ſhould form judicious inſtitutions, which might give a degree of conſiſtency to this arrangement; and advantages will be found to accrue from this new ſyſtem, exempt from every inconvenience; a trial was made of it in 1765. If this fortunate plan was given up, it was on account of that fatal inſtability which hath for a long time diſgraced the naval operations of France: it will therefore be reſumed, and at the ſame time the colonies will be ſecure of a mart for all their productions

THESE ſettlements ſend annually to the mother-country, beſides what they keep for their own conſumption, a hundred thouſand hogſheads of melaſſes; the value of which may be from nine to ten millions *. From ill-judged motives of

* From 375,000 l. to 416,666 l. 13 s. 4 d.

intereſt,

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intereſt, perhaps, ſhe hath deprived them and herſelf of this benefit; from an apprehenſion of injuring the ſale of her own brandy. The brandies drawn from ſugar, always inferior to thoſe extracted from wine, can only be for the uſe of poor nations, or of the lower claſs of people in the rich ones. They will never be preferred to any but malt ſpirits, and theſe are not diſtilled in France. There will always be a demand for the French brandies, even in the iſlands, for the uſe of that claſs of men who can afford to pay for them. The government, therefore, can never too ſoon retract ſo unjuſt and ſo fatal an error, and ought to admit melaſſes and rum into it's ports, to be conſumed there, or wherever elſe they may be wanted. Nothing would more extend their conſumption, than to authoriſe French navigators to carry them directly to the foreign markets. This indulgence ought even to be extended to the whole produce of the colonies. As an opinion that claſhes with ſo many intereſts and ſo many prejudices, may probably be conteſted, it will be proper to eſtabliſh it on clear principles.

The French iſlands furniſh the mother-country with ſugars, coffee, cotton, indigo, and other commodities, that are partly conſumed at home, and partly diſpoſed of in foreign countries, which return in exchange either ſilver, or other articles that are wanted. Theſe iſlands receive from the mother-country clothes, proviſions and inſtruments of huſbandry. Such is the twofold deſtination of the colonies. In order to fulfil it they muſt be rich. In order to be rich, they muſt grow

grow large crops, and be able to diſpoſe of them at the beſt price: and that this price may be kept up, the ſale of them muſt be as general as poſſible. To obtain this, it muſt be made entirely free. In order to make it as free as poſſible, it muſt be clogged with no formalities, no expences, no labours, no needleſs incumbrances. Theſe truths, which may be proved from their cloſe connection with each other, muſt determine whether it be advantageous that the trade of the colonies ſhould be ſubjected to the delays and expence of a ſtaple in France.

These intermediate expences muſt neceſſarily fall either upon the conſumer or upon the planter. If upon the former, he will conſume leſs, becauſe his means do not increaſe in proportion to his expences; if upon the latter, as his produce brings in leſs, he will be leſs able to make the neceſſary advances for the next crop, and of courſe his lands will yield leſs. The evident progreſs of theſe deſtructive conſequences is ſo little attended to, that every day we hear people confidently ſay, that merchandize, before it is conſumed, muſt paſs through many hands, and undergo many charges, both for handicraft and carriage; and that as theſe charges employ and maintain a number of perſons, they are conducive to the population and ſtrength of a ſtate. Men are ſo blinded by prejudice, as not to ſee, that if it be advantageous that commodities, before they are conſumed, ſhould undergo a two-fold expence, this advantage will ſtill be increaſed, to the greater emolument of the nation,

if

if this expence ſhould amount to four, eight, twelve, or thirty times more. Then, indeed, all nations might break up their highways, fill up their canals, prohibit the navigation of their rivers; they might even exclude animals from the labours of the field, and employ none but men in theſe works, in order to add to the expences that precede the conſumption of the produce. Yet ſuch are the abſurdities we muſt maintain, if we admit the falſe principle we are now oppoſing.

But political truths muſt be long canvaſſed before they are perceived. I ſhall advance, without fearing to be contradicted, that the tranſcendent parts of geometry have neither the depth nor the ſubtilty of this ſpecies of arithmetic. There is nothing poſſible in mathematics, which the genius of Newton, or of ſome of his ſucceſſors, might not have flattered itſelf to accompliſh. But I ſhall not ſay as much of them, with reſpect to the matters we are now treating of. At firſt ſight we imagine that we had but one difficulty to ſolve: but this difficulty ſoon brings on another; that again a third, and thus we proceed, *ad infinitum*; and we perceive that we muſt either give up the work, or embrace at once the whole immenſe ſyſtem of ſocial order, without which we ſhall obtain only an incomplete and defective reſult. The data, and the calculations, vary according to the nature of the place, it's productions, it's ſpecie, it's reſources, it's connections, it's laws, it's cuſtoms, it's taſte, it's commerce, and it's manners. Where ſhall we find the man

ſufficiently informed to embrace all theſe elements? Where the mind ſufficiently accurate to appreciate them only at their proper value? All informations concerning the different branches of ſociety, are no more than the branches of that tree, which conſtitutes the ſcience of the man engaged in public life. He muſt be an eccleſiaſtic, a military man, a magiſtrate, a financier, a merchant, and a huſbandman. He muſt have weighed all the advantages and obſtacles which he is to expect from paſſion, from rival pretenſions, and from private intereſt. With all the knowlege that may be acquired without genius, and with all the genius that may have been beſtowed upon him without knowlege, he is inſtantly led into miſtakes. It is not therefore ſurpriſing, that ſo many errors ſhould have gained credit among the people, who never repeat any thing but what they have hear'd; that ſo many ſhould have prevailed among ſpeculators, who ſuffer themſelves to be led away by the ſpirit of ſyſtem, and who ſcruple not to conclude a general truth, from ſome particular ſucceſs; that ſo many miſtakes ſhould happen among men of buſineſs, who are all of them more or leſs enſlaved to the routine of their predeceſſors, and more or leſs reſtrained by the ruinous conſequences of attempting any thing contrary to cuſtom; in a word, that ſo many faults ſhould be committed among ſtateſmen, who by their birth, or by favour, are brought up to important places, to which they come with profound ignorance, that leaves them at the diſcretion of corrupt ſubalterns, who either

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either deceive or miſlead them. In every well regulated ſociety, there ought to be no matter upon which a freedom of diſcuſſion ſhould not be allowed. The more weighty, and the more difficult this matter is, the more neceſſary doth this diſcuſſion become. Can we then have a more important, a more complicated ſubject than that of government? Or could any court, that was fond of truth, do better than to encourage all men to exerciſe their thoughts upon it? And ſhould we not be authorized to think of that court, who ſhould forbid this ſtudy, that we muſt either diſtruſt their operations, or conclude them to be bad? The true reſult of a prohibitive edict upon this point, might very properly be contained in the following words: THE SOVEREIGN FORBIDS THAT IT SHOULD BE DEMONSTRATED TO HIM, THAT HIS MINISTER IS EITHER A FOOL OR A KNAVE, FOR IT IS HIS PLEASURE THAT HE SHOULD BE EITHER THE ONE OR THE OTHER, WITHOUT ANY NOTICE BEING TAKEN OF IT. THE council of Verſailles, long blinded by that darkneſs in which they ſuffered their nation to remain, had not yet acquired a ſufficient degree of knowlege to diſcover what kind of adminiſtration was fitteſt for the colonies; and they are ſtill equally ignorant of the form of government beſt calculated to make them proſper.

Is the authority in the French iſlands committed to thoſe perſons who are

THE French colonies, ſettled by profligate men, who fled from the reſtraints or puniſhments of the law, ſeemed at firſt to ſtand in need of nothing but a ſtrict police; they were therefore committed

committed to chiefs who had an unlimited authority. The ſpirit of intrigue, natural to all courts, but more eſpecially familiar to a nation where gallantry gives the women an univerſal aſcendant, has at all times filled the higher poſts in America with worthleſs men, loaded with debts and vices. The miniſtry, from ſome ſenſe of ſhame, and the fear of raiſing ſuch men where their diſgrace was know'n, have ſent them beyond ſea, to improve or retrieve their fortunes, among people who were ignorant of their miſconduct. An ill-judged compaſſion, and that miſtaken maxim of courtiers, that villany is neceſſary, and villains are uſeful, made them deliberately ſacrifice the peace of the planters, the ſafety of the colonies, and the very intereſts of the ſtate, to a ſet of infamous perſons only fit to be impriſoned. Theſe rapacious and diſſolute men ſtifled the ſeeds of all that was good and laudable, and checked the progreſs of that proſperity which was riſing ſpontaneouſly.

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moſt proper to make them flouriſh?

Arbitrary power carries along with it ſo ſubtle a poiſon, that even thoſe men who went over with honeſt intentions, were ſoon corrupted. If ambition, avarice, and pride, had not begun to infect them, they would not have been proof againſt flattery, which never fails to raiſe it's meanneſs upon general ſlavery, and to advance it's own fortune by public calamities.

The few governors who eſcaped corruption, meeting with no ſupport in an arbitrary adminiſtration, were continually committing miſtakes. Men are to be governed by laws

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and not by men. If the governors be deprived of this common rule, this ſtandard of their judgments, all right, all ſafety, and all civil liberty, will be extinct. Nothing will then be ſeen but contradictory deciſions, tranſient and oppoſite regulations and orders, which, for want of fundamental maxims, will have no connection with each other. If the code of laws were cancelled, even in the beſt-conſtituted empire, it would ſoon appear that juſtice alone was not ſufficient to govern it well. The wiſeſt men would be inadequate to ſuch a taſk. As they would not all be of the ſame mind, and as each of them would not always be in the ſame diſpoſition, the ſtate would ſoon be ſubverted. This kind of confuſion was perpetual in the French colonies, and the more ſo, as the governors made but a ſhort ſtay in one place, and were recalled before they had time to take cognizance of any thing. After they had proceeded without a guide for three years, in a new country, and upon unformed plans of police and laws, theſe rulers were replaced by others, who, in as ſhort a ſpace, had not time to form any connection with the people they were to govern, nor to ripen their projects into that juſtice which, when tempered with mildneſs, can alone ſecure the execution of them. This want of experience, and of precedents, ſo much intimidated one of theſe abſolute magiſtrates, that, out of delicacy, he would not venture to decide upon the common occurrences. Not but that he was aware of the inconveniencies of his irreſolution; but, though an able man, he

did not think himſelf qualified to be a legiſlator, and therefore did not chuſe to uſurp the authority of one.

YET theſe diſorders might eaſily have been prevented, by ſubſtituting an equitable legiſlation, firm, and independent of private will, to a military government, violent in itſelf, and adapted only to critical and perilous times. But this ſcheme, which has often been propoſed, was diſapproved by the governors jealous of abſolute power; which, formidable in itſelf, is always odious in a ſubject. Theſe ſlaves, eſcaped from the ſecret tyranny of the court, were remarkably attached to that form of juſtice which prevails in Aſiatic governments, by which they kept even their own dependents in awe. The reformation was rejected even by ſome virtuous governors, who did not conſider, that, by reſerving to themſelves the right of doing good, they left it in the power of their ſucceſſors to do ill with impunity. All exclaimed againſt a plan of legiſlation that tended to leſſen the dependence of the people; and the court was weak enough to give way to their inſinuation and advice, from a conſequence of that propenſity to arbitrary power natural to princes and their miniſters. They thought they provided ſufficiently for their colonies, by giving them an intendant to balance the power of the governor.

THESE diſtant ſettlements, which, till then, had groaned under the yoke of one proprietor only, now became a prey to two, equally dangerous by their diviſion and their union. When they were at variance they divided the minds of the people,

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ſowed diſcord among their adherents, and kindled a kind of civil war. The rumour of their diſſentions was at length brought to Europe, where each party had it's favourers, who were animated by pride or intereſt to ſupport them in their poſts. When they agreed, either becauſe their good or bad intentions happened to be the ſame, or becauſe the one had got an entire aſcendant over the other, the coloniſts were in a worſe condition than ever. Whatever oppreſſion theſe victims laboured under, their complaints were never hear'd in the mother-country, who looked upon the harmony that ſubſiſted between her delegates, as the moſt certain proof of a faultleſs adminiſtration.

The fate of the French colonies is not much improved. Their governors, beſides having the diſpoſal of the regular troops, have a right to inliſt the inhabitants; to order them to what works they think proper: to employ them as they think proper in time of war, and even to make uſe of them for conqueſt. Intruſted with abſolute authority, and deſirous of exerting all the powers that can eſtabliſh or extend it, they take upon themſelves the cognizance of civil debts. The debtor is ſummoned, throw'n into priſon, or into a dungeon, and compelled to pay without any other formality; and this is what they call the ſervice, or the military department. The intendants have the ſole management and diſpoſal of the finances, and generally order the collecting of them. They inquire into all cauſes, both civil and criminal; whether juſtice has not yet taken cognizance of them, or whether they have already been brought before

before the ſuperior tribunals; and this is what they call adminiſtration. The governors and intendants jointly grant the lands that have not yet been given away, and determined, a few years ago, all differences that aroſe reſpecting the old poſſeſſions. This arrangement placed the fortunes of all the coloniſts in their hands, or in thoſe of their clerks and dependants; and conſequently made all property precarious, and occaſioned the utmoſt confuſion.

In mechanics, the further the reſiſting powers are removed from the center, the more the moving force muſt be increaſed; in like manner, we are told, the colonies cannot be ſecured any otherwiſe than by a harſh and abſolute government. If ſo, Sir William Petty was in the right to diſapprove of theſe ſort of ſettlements. It would be better that the earth ſhould remain unpeopled, or thinly inhabited, than that ſome powers ſhould be extended to the misfortune of the people. It is incumbent upon France to invalidate this ſyſtem of an Engliſhman againſt colonies, by improving more and more in the method of governing them. That enlightened ſpirit which diſtinguiſhes the preſent age, whatever may be the aſſertion of thoſe who attribute to the contempt of certain prejudices the vices inſeparable from luxury, and to the freedom of thinking and writing, thoſe corrupt manners that ariſe from the paſſions of the great, and from the abuſe of power: that enlightened ſpirit, I ſay, which ſtill ſupports and guides the nation, while morality is little attended to, will reſtore the court of Verſailles to thoſe judicious principles which we

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have ſo often pointed out to them. If any perſon hath been offended by them, he need only be queſtioned, and it will be found that he is ſome vile adulator of the great, or ſome inferior perſon attached by his ſituation or by intereſt to the adminiſtration, of which he is the panegyriſt; we may conclude, that he hath not the leaſt idea of the duty which a citizen owes to his country. Shall I be conſidered as the accomplice of a villain, if I ſhould not call out when I ſee him throwing a lighted torch into the houſe of a fellow citizen; and ſhall not my ſilence be deemed culpable, when I ſee the whole empire threatened with a conflagration? It is not the ſubject who keeps his ſovereign in the dark, reſpecting the dangers of his ſituation, who can be called a faithful ſubject; it is he who acquaints him of it with frankneſs at the riſk of incurring his diſpleaſure. But it is urged, why do you not addreſs yourſelf to thoſe who govern the kingdom, rather than to the public? Can thoſe who govern be approached? Would they liſten to you? Do they not think that all knowlege is centered in them? Do they judge for themſelves? Would not the moſt important ſpeculations be ſent back to offices and ſubmitted to the deciſion of a clerk, who would not fail to diſapprove them, either from ignorance, from vanity, or from ſome other leſs ſecret and more vile motive. It is not certain that I ſhould be hear'd, even if my voice were aſſiſted by a multitude of other voices. Let me therefore be allowed to ſpeak. Let me be allowed to tell my country what can raiſe her poſſeſſions in the New World,

World, to that degree of proſperity and of happineſs of which they are ſuſceptible.

Changes which ought to be made in the adminiſtration of the French iſlands.

FEW alterations will be found neceſſary, with regard to what concerns public worſhip; it hath been made ſubordinate as much as poſſible to civil authority. It's miniſters are monks, whoſe appearance of gravity, and whoſe ſingular dreſs, make more impreſſion upon the ignorant and ſuperſtitious Negroes, than could be expected from the moſt ſublime moral precepts of religion. The allurement of novelty, ſo powerful in France, had a few years ago ſuggeſted a project of ſubſtituting biſhops and a numerous clergy to theſe convenient paſtors. In vain had all men united in rejecting a body of clergy, formidable by their ambition, their avarice, and their pretenſions. Had not the turbulent and unſkilful miniſter, who had formed this deſtructive plan been diſgraced, the French colonies would have been tormented by a calamity, ſtill greater than that which they have experienced for ſo long a time from legiſlative authority.

THESE great ſettlements were founded by chance, either fortunate or unfortunate, a little before the middle of the laſt century. There was at that time no fixed idea reſpecting the countries of the New World. For this reaſon the cuſtoms adopted at Paris, and the criminal laws of the kingdom were choſen for their regulation. Judicious men have ſince that been well aware, that this kind of juriſprudence could not be ſuitable to a country of ſlavery, to a climate, to morals, to cultures, and to poſſeſſions, which

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have no kind of reſemblance to our's; but theſe reflections of ſome individuals have had no influence upon the operations of government. Far from correcting the defects of theſe firſt inſtitutions, they have added to the abſurdity of the principles, embarraſſments, confuſion, and a multiplicity of forms, and conſequently no juſtice hath been rendered.

THINGS will remain in the ſame ſtate till a ſyſtem of legiſlation peculiarly adapted to the iſlands ſhall render juridical deciſions poſſible and even eaſy: but this important work cannot be done in France. Leave to the coloniſts aſſembled the care of repreſenting their own wants, let them be ſuffered to form themſelves ſuch a code as they ſhall think moſt ſuitable to their ſituation. When this great labour ſhall have been executed with mature deliberation, it ſhould be ſubmitted to the deepeſt and moſt rigorous diſquiſitions. The ſanction of government ought not to be granted to it, till every doubt be removed with reſpect to it's utility and to it's perfection. There will then be no fear of a want of good magiſtrates. The laws will be ſo preciſe, ſo clear, and ſo well adapted to buſineſs, that the tribunals will no longer be accuſed of ignorance, of want of application, or of diſhoneſty.

FROM this new order of things an exact police would ariſe. This method of keeping the citizens in order is eaſy in Europe. A father does the office of a cenſor in his own family, he watches over his wife, his children, and his domeſtics. The proprietor, or the principal tenant, exerts

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the ſame authority in his houſe; the manufacturer or the tradeſman in his warehouſe, or in his workſhop. One neighbour is a kind of inſpector over another. Aſſociations of men jealous of their honour, keep a vigilant eye over the conduct and actions of their members; no man of bad character is received among them, and they expel thoſe who have diſgraced themſelves. A dangerous man is ſoon found out, and every door is ſhut againſt him. There is a tribunal of honour, and another of ſcandal. Morality exerts a kind of judicature which no one can avoid. Where is the man, who is not more or leſs reſtrained by the public opinion? All theſe ſpecies of authority derogate from the functions of government. America, full of inſulated individuals, without country, and without relations, who are for ever changing place, and inceſſantly renewed, and who are urged to the boldeſt enterprizes by their thirſt after riches: America requires a more active, a more ſteady, and a more circumſtantial adminiſtration.

Instead of this, one officer, under the name of King's Lieutenant, reſiding in a port, or in a ſmall town, was for a long while ſolely intruſted with that important office in the French iſlands. This man was a petty tyrant, who diſtreſſed the planters, who extorted money from trade, and who preferred the ſelling of a pardon to the prevention of miſdemeanours. For ſome years paſt the commanders of the militia, have in each diſtrict been intruſted with the care of maintaining public tranquillity, under the inſpection of the chief of the

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the colony. This new arrangement is not ſo defective as the former, but it is ſtill too arbitrary. Let us indulge in the pleaſing expectation, that the ſame code by which the fortune of each individual ſhall be put under the protection of the laws, will alſo ſecure his liberty.

At this period trade will be better regulated than it hath yet been. The French merchants do not go themſelves to the iſlands, but they ſend there cargoes more or leſs valuable. Thoſe which are not of much value, are commonly diſtributed by the captains of the ſhips for ready money. The moſt important of them, ſuch as thoſe which carry ſlaves, are moſtly delivered upon credit, and agents are fixed in thoſe ſettlements for the collecting of the money. The payments are ſeldom made at the appointed time; and this want of punctuality hath always occaſioned diſputes between the colonies and the mother-country. Adminiſtration have for a long time been endeavouring to put an end to theſe eternal diſcords. Might there not be a regiſter kept in each juriſdiction, in which every debt ſhould be noted in the ſame order in which it had been contracted? When intelligent perſons ſhould determine, that the debtor's eſtate was mortgaged for more than half it's value, every creditor ſhould be allowed to put it up to ſale.

This arrangement, though wiſe and neceſſary, would certainly diſpleaſe the coloniſts; but they would ſoon be comforted, reſpecting what they might at firſt have conſidered as an unfortunate circumſtance, ſhould that rigour be moderated by

by a better adminiſtration of the finances. Government were cruel enough, even at the firſt origin of the colonies, to exact a tribute from thoſe unfortunate people who went to the New World to ſeek their ſubſiſtence. Stronger contributions were required of them, in proportion as their labours and the fruits of their induſtry were multiplied; and yet this enormous weight, with which their commodities, their conſumptions, and their ſlaves were overloaded, ſcarcely excite a feeble remonſtrance. The complaints are generally founded upon the tyrannical manner in which the public revenue is collected, and upon the pernicious uſes to which it is applied. It is alleged, that the treaſury thinks itſelf exhauſted by the expences which are required for the preſervation of the iſlands. They themſelves offer to defray all theſe expences in the moſt ample manner, provided that the taxes be regulated and diſpoſed of by the national aſſemblies. The troops will then be more regularly paid, and the fortifications kept in better order, under the inſpection of government itſelf. Diſencumbered from that multitude of officers, who under the name of the ſtaff, exhauſt them; of thoſe legions of rapacious farmers of the revenue who oppreſs them inceſſantly and beyond meaſure, the colonies will attend to their improvement. Convenient roads will be opened on all ſides, the moraſſes will be dried up, a bed will be digged for the torrents, that of the rivers will be repaired, and bridges will be conſtructed to ſecure the communications. The young Creoles will receive upon their own ſoil a proper education,

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education, which they did not obtain even by croſſing the ſeas. In a word, there will be a body appointed, which ſhall be authorized to purſue, even to the foot of the throne, that deſpotic rage which ſo frequently ſeizes upon thoſe vain or corrupt men, who are choſen by intrigue or by ignorance to govern theſe diſtant regions.

NOTHING appears to be more conſonant to the ends of ſound policy, than to allow theſe iſlanders the right of governing themſelves, provided it be in ſubordination to the mother-country; nearly in the ſame manner as a boat follows all the directions of the ſhip it is faſtened to. It will, perhaps, be objected, that the people in thoſe remote iſlands being continually renewed by the fluctuation of commerce, this will naturally bring in a number of worthleſs men; and that it will be long before we can expect to ſee thoſe manners and that ſagacity among them, which will be productive of public ſpirit, and of that dignity which is requiſite to ſupport the weight of affairs, and the intereſts of a nation. This objection might have ſome foundation, if we attended merely to the character of thoſe Europeans who are driven to America by their wants or their vices; who, by thus tranſporting themſelves, either by choice or from other motives, are ſtrangers every where; commonly corrupted by the want of laws, ill-ſupplied by an arbitrary police; by that depraved taſte for dominion, which reſults from the abuſe of ſlavery; and by the dazzling luſtre of a great fortune, which makes them forget their former obſcurity. But this claſs of men ought to have no ſhare in the adminiſtration,

miniſtration, which ſhould be wholly committed to proprietors, moſtly born in the colonies: for juſtice is the natural conſequence of property; and none are more intereſted in the good government of a country, than thoſe who are entitled by their birth to the largeſt poſſeſſions in it. Theſe Creoles, who have naturally a great ſhare of penetration, a frankneſs of character, an elevation of ſoul, and a certain love of juſtice that ariſes from theſe valuable diſpoſitions, would be ſo ſenſible of the marks of eſteem and confidence which would be ſhew'n them by the mother-country, in intruſting them with the interior management of their own, that they would grow fond of that fertile ſoil, take a pride in improving it, and be happy in introducing all the comforts of a civilized ſociety. Inſtead of that antipathy to France, which is a reflection upon her miniſters, and upbraids them with their ſeverity, we ſhould ſee in the colonies that attachment which paternal kindneſs always inſpires to children. Inſtead of that ſecret eagerneſs which, in time of war, makes them readily ſubmit to a foreign yoke, we ſhould ſee them uniting their efforts to prevent or repulſe an invaſion. Fear will reſtrain men under the immediate eye of a powerful and formidable maſter; but affection alone can command them at a diſtance. This is, perhaps, the only ſpring that acts upon the frontier provinces of an extenſive kingdom; while the indolent and rapacious inhabitants of the metropolis are kept in awe by authority. Attachment to the ſovereign is a principle which cannot be too much encouraged, or too much extended; but if it be neither merited

nor

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nor returned, he will not enjoy it long. No more joy will then appear in public feſtivals, no tranſports of exultation, no involuntary acclamations will be hear'd at the ſight of the beloved idol. Curioſity will bring a throng wherever there is a public ſpectacle; but contentment will not appear in any countenance. A ſullen diſcontent will ariſe, and ſpread from one province to another; and from the mother-country to the colonies. When the fortunes of all men are injured or threatened at once, the alarm and the commotion becomes general. Exertions of authority, multiplied by the imprudence of thoſe who firſt venture upon them, occaſion a general alarm, and fall ſucceſſively upon all bodies of men. The avengers of crimes, and ſupporters of the rights of the coloniſts, are brought up even from America, and confined like malefactors in the priſons of Europe. The weapons of government, which ſeemed uſeleſs againſt the enemy, are directed againſt theſe valuable ſubjects of the ſtate. Thoſe people, who could not be defended in time of war, are alarmed in time of peace. The French miniſtry have never granted to their poſſeſſions in the New World, the ſupport requiſite to preſerve them from ravages or from invaſion, and they will never fulfil this obligation, unleſs they increaſe in the Old World their arſenals, their manufactures, and their ſlaves. Philoſophers of all countries, friends of mankind, pardon a French writer who endeavours to excite his country to raiſe a formidable navy. It is in order to ſecure the tranquillity of the world that he wiſhes

to

to ſee that ſame equilibrium eſtabliſhed in all the ſeas, which conſtitutes at preſent the ſecurity of the continent.

Can France acquire a military navy? Doth it ſuit her to have one? What meaſures muſt be taken for that purpoſe?

If it ſhould be doubted whether France can aſpire to that kind of power, we have only to conſider it's poſition. Sufficiently extenſive to prevent it from being dependent upon any of the ſurrounding powers, and yet ſo fortunately limited as not to be weakened by it's extent, this monarchy is ſituated in the center of Europe, between the ocean and the Mediterranean. It can tranſport all it's productions from one ſea to another, without paſſing under the threatening cannon of Gibraltar, or under the inſulting flag of the Barbary powers. Moſt of it's provinces are watered by rivers, or interſected by canals, which ſecure the communication between it's inland countries and it's ports, and between it's ports and it's inland countries. It's neighbours are, fortunately, not able to furniſh their own ſubſiſtence, or carry on a trade that is merely paſſive. The temperature of it's climate procures to it the ineſtimable advantage of ſending out and receiving it's ſhips at all ſeaſons of the year. The depth of it's harbours enables it to give to it's ſhips the form the moſt proper for ſwiftneſs and ſecurity.

Can France be in need of objects, and of materials for exportation? It's productions, of the Old and of the New World, are eagerly ſought after by all nations: but it is more eſpecially by it's manufactures, and by it's faſhions, that it hath ſubdued Europe, and ſome parts of the other

other hemiſphere. The nations are faſcinated, and will ever remain ſo. The endeavours which have every where been made to get rid of ſo ruinous a tribute, by imitations of this foreign induſtry, have no where had the expected ſucceſs. The fertility of invention will ever be beforehand with the quickneſs of imitation; and the agility of a people, in whoſe hands, every thing aſſumes a youthful appearance, and who have the art of making every thing appear old among their neighbours, will deceive the jealouſy and the avidity of thoſe who endeavour to enter into a competition with them by imitation. How extenſive might the navigation of an empire be, which furniſhes to the other ſtates the objects of their vanity, of their luxury, and of their voluptuouſneſs?

Can the population of France be deemed inadequate to numerous armaments? It is well know'n at preſent, that this power reckons twenty-two millions of inhabitants. The reproach that is made them, that they have more ſailors upon each of their ſhips than their rivals, is alone a ſufficient proof that men are not wanted for the naval art, but that they are themſelves deficient in it. Yet no people have ever received from nature more of that vivacity of genius, fit to improve the building of ſhips, or more of that dexterity of body, ſo well calculated to ſpare the time and expences of handicraft, by the ſimplicity and celerity of the means employed.

Is it becauſe France cannot furniſh from itſelf all ſorts of naval ſtores, that it can be thought unable

unable to have a maritime force? But are not her rivals likewiſe obliged to have recourſe for theſe things to the north of Europe, and even more than France herſelf? Doth their climate, their induſtry, and their colonies, furniſh them with the ſame facility of completing their exchanges in the Baltic?

FRANCE hath therefore all the requiſites neceſſary to become a truly naval power: but doth it ſuit her to entertain this ambitious idea?

FOR a long time, the only method know'n to acquire fortune and glory, was by numerous and well-diſciplined armies. The Eaſt and the Weſt Indies were diſcovered; and this unforeſeen event occaſioned an aſtoniſhing revolution in the minds of all men. Perhaps a reaſonable ambition would have been contented with obtaining, by the mode of exchange, the riches and the productions of theſe two extenſive parts of the globe. The thirſt of dominion, too common among nations, occaſioned the ruinous and deſtructive ſyſtem of conqueſts to be generally preferred. Theſe immenſe regions were moſtly ſubdued. Matters were carried ſtill further. The people who inhabited theſe new climates were either too weak or too indolent to ſerve as the inſtruments of the cupidity of an unjuſt invader. In ſeveral places, they were all either exterminated, or expelled from the countries that had given them birth, and Europeans, or African ſlaves, were ſubſtituted to them, who multiplied the commodities, the germina of which they found there, and who

eſtabliſhed other cultures, which a new, fertile, and varied ſoil could eaſily ſupply.

It was neceſſary to give ſome ſtability to theſe ſettlements. The reſtleſſneſs of the nations which had divided theſe virgin regions, and the jealouſy of thoſe which had not enjoyed that advantage, were equally to be apprehended. A naval force alone could give conſiſtence to the riſing colonies, and even to thoſe which were in the greateſt forwardneſs. To preſerve them from invaſion, fleets were conſtructed and fitted out. At this remarkable period, the ſyſtem of politics was entirely altered. The earth was in ſome meaſure ſubjected to the ſea, and the great political ſtrokes were ſtricken on the ocean.

France, leſs accuſtomed to ſerve as a guide, than to ſurpaſs it's maſters, beheld without emulation the riſe of a new ſpecies of power. The navy did not even form any part of the too extenſive projects of the ambitious Richlieu. It was reſerved to the monarch for whoſe grandeur he had paved the way, to make his flag reſpected in the two hemiſpheres. But this glory was of ſmall duration. Lewis XIV. by his enterpriſes, irritated the whole continent, and, in order to reſiſt the leagues which were formed there againſt him, was obliged to maintain innumerable armies. His kingdom ſoon became nothing more than a camp; and his frontiers were only a ſtring of fortified places. The ſprings of the ſtate were always kept in too high a degree of tenſion under this brilliant reign. One

criſis was ſucceeded by another. At length the finances were in diſorder; and in the impoſſibility of defraying all the expences, the ſacrifice of the naval forces was thought, perhaps improperly, to be indiſpenſible.

Since the end of a century, in which the nation ſuſtained it's diſgraces, by the remembrance at leaſt of it's ſucceſſes, and ſtill kept Europe in awe by forty years of glory, cheriſhed a government by which it had been honoured, and bade defiance to rivals whom it had humbled: ſince that period, France hath loſt much of it's pride, notwithſtanding the acquiſitions with which it's territory hath been extended. A long peace would not have enervated her, if her forces, too long laviſhed in war, had been turned to the navy: but her naval powers have acquired no conſiſtence. The avarice of one miniſter, the prodigality of another; the indolence of ſeveral; falſe notions, trifling intereſts, the intrigues of the court, by which government is guided; a ſeries of vices and of faults; a number of obſcure and deſpicable cauſes; all theſe circumſtances have prevented the nation from becoming as powerful upon ſea as it had been on the continent; at leaſt from acquiring a balance, if not a preponderance of power. Even the loſſes which France experienced in all parts of the globe, during the hoſtilities begun in 1756; the humiliations which ſhe was obliged to ſubmit to at the peace of 1763, did not reſtore a ſpirit of wiſdom to the council that governed the nation, and did

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not turn their projects and their efforts towards the ſyſtem of a formidable navy.

But what meaſures ſhould France purſue, in order to create and maintain a naval force?

The firſt ſtep to be taken, without which the others would become either uſeleſs or fatal, muſt be, to encourage the mercantile branch of the navy. It is that alone which can form men, enured to the hardſhips of climates, to the fatigues of labour, and to the dangers of ſtorms. This truth being once eſtabliſhed, thoſe innumerable ſhackles which have hitherto excluſively inſured the exportation of the commodities of the kingdom to foreign nations, and which have even too often given up to them the coaſting trade, will be taken off. We will not affirm, that an act of navigation, ſimilar to that which hath occaſioned the glory of England, would be ſuitable to France: but that crown ought at leaſt to eſtabliſh ſuch regulations as might enable it's ſubjects to ſhare thoſe benefits, which the Swedes, the Danes, and the Dutch, come and take from them even in their own harbours.

This new order of things will never be eſtabliſhed, till the naval trade ſhall emerge from that humiliating ſtate into which it hath hitherto unfortunately been plunged. The laws forbid any navigator from commanding a trading veſſel, till he ſhall have made three voyages upon a king's ſhip: after this trial, he may ſtill be compelled to remain in the king's ſervice, during a time of war. The abject ſtate in which he is kept

kept in that ſervice, muſt neceſſarily excite an averſion for the ſea in all men who have received any education, who enjoy ſome kind of fortunes, or who have ſome degree of ſpirit. Either theſe ſhameful fetters muſt be broken, or the French muſt give up the hopes of ſeeing the ocean covered with their numerous and rich armaments.

The ſtate of oppreſſion in which the ſailors are kept, is another obſtacle to the multiplication of expeditions. Theſe men, who ſo eſſentially contribute to the opulence and to the ſtrength of the kingdom, are inſcribed in regiſters, and are inſtantly obliged to embark on board of men of war, upon receiving orders from the miniſtry, for whatever time they ſhall chuſe, and at whatever ſtipend it may be thought proper to give them; nor are theſe hard terms in the leaſt alleviated by any conſideration either of talents or age. At the time even when they are not employed in the public ſervice, they are not allowed to diſpoſe of their induſtry, and of their leiſure, without the permiſſion of an agent of government. This ſlavery averts from this neceſſary profeſſion, moſt of thoſe whoſe inclination would otherwiſe have led them to it, if it were not deſtructive of all kind of liberty. If theſe inſtitutions were ſuppreſſed, or, at leaſt, the ſeverity of them were diminiſhed, the harbours and the coaſts of France would then be filled with ſailors.

But who ſhall lead them on to action, and to the defence of their country? Seignelay decided that it ſhould be the nobility, and his opinion hath been adopted ever ſince. Hath nature then

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excluſively granted to a nobleman a natural conſtitution, which cannot be affected by climate, by hunger, and by fatigue? Hath ſhe excluſively granted to him the boldneſs that bids defiance to danger, and the coolneſs that ſurmounts it? Hath ſhe given to him excluſively that genius which determines and inſures victory? It is ſaid, that opinion and prejudice inſpire men of this rank with an ardour for glory, and an indifference for wealth, which are not to be found among other claſſes of men. What! is it in the midſt of a corrupt court, is it among the rubbiſh of a ruined caſtle, that principles of elevation and of diſintereſtedneſs are to be preferably ſought for? The ſon of a navigator, whoſe fortunate labours have been crowned with wealth, and who can have no other ambition than that of rendering his name illuſtrious, is no leſs powerfully excited to memorable actions and to great ſacrifices, than that young nobleman who is conſtantly ſheltering himſelf under the laurels of his anceſtors. What period hath ever ſhew'n, that a title which we are in poſſeſſion of is a more powerful ſtimulus than one to which we aſpire? What was the firſt perſon who deſerved nobility before he had obtained it? If ſome of his illuſtrious deſcendants had been in his place, his children and his poſterity would have remained in obſcurity. True nobility was in the blood and in the deſtiny of man, before it exiſted upon parchment. To acquire it, it is neceſſary to have good fortune and merit: good fortune, which ſhall preſent occaſions to us, and merit, by which we may improve

prove them. All who have been ennobled in paſt ages, and all who ſhall be ennobled in future, have proved, and will hereafter prove, that this great road is open to a few men only; and that it is as eaſy to find a great mind under a plain dreſs, as a mean ſpirit under the decoration of a ribband. Courage, virtue, and genius, belong to all ranks. But in order to aſcertain this matter, let the career be laid open indiſcriminately to all perſons who ſhall have received a decent education. Let them be embarked on board men of war; let them make a few voyages under experienced commanders; let them be ſubjected to all the labours, and to all the ſelf-denials, which this difficult profeſſion requires. After theſe trials, let thoſe who have ſhew'n the greateſt degree of ſpirit, of ſkill, of courage, and of emulation, be admitted into the royal navy.

The excellence of an art, which enables us ſometimes to ſubdue the elements; the advantages of a profeſſion, in which the opportunities of ſignalizing one's ſelf are more frequent, and in which glory is the perſonal acquiſition of every man, as ſoon as he hath obtained the command of the ſmalleſt veſſel; all theſe reaſons will induce them to ſtudy, to reflect, and eſpecially to be always manœuvering; for in this profeſſion, the moſt learned theory muſt be conſtantly accompanied with practice. Either in action, or in ſimple navigation, reſolutions muſt be ſo quick, that they ſhall appear rather as the reſult of feeling than of reflection. The ſea officer is more particularly in need of thoſe deciſive

thoughts, of thoſe ſudden illuminations, as they have been ſo well deſcribed by a ſublime orator, in his eulogium of a great captain: and theſe ſtrokes of inſtinct and talents, to ſpeak in a leſs elevated ſtyle, muſt be ſooner acquired by practice than by theory.

This idea of continual practice the French navy are utterly ſtrangers to. Looſe armaments, voyages of a day, in which the time of returning into port is know'n at the time of going out of it: coaſts which are viſited with as little attention as thoſe countries through which a man travels poſt: colonies, of which we know as little when we leave them as we did at our arrival: expeditions, in which a ſpeedy return is the only prevailing idea, and where the mind is conſtantly abſorbed in attention to former habits: ſhips, which are conſidered as priſons, and which are quitted with tranſport, without being acquainted either with their defects or perfections. O Frenchmen! O my fellow-citizens! this is exactly a true picture; ſuch hath been hitherto the deplorable employment of the naval forces of our country.

To theſe ſucceſſive armaments of a few ſolitary frigates, the tranſient expedition of which is of no real utility, let us ſubſtitute permanent ſquadrons, that ſhall remain three years, or more, in all the latitudes of the Old and of the New World, where we have any ſettlements, or where we carry on an extenſive trade. Let theſe inſtructive cruiſes conſtantly employ one half of our inferior veſſels, and ſome ſhips of the line.

Then

Then the officers who remain in the profeſſion merely on account of the facility of fulfilling the duties of it, will retire; and thoſe who perſevere in this perilous and honourable employment will then acquire information, experience, and a fondneſs for that element, upon which they expect to obtain glory and fortune. Subalterns then growing emulous to pleaſe ſuperiors deſtined to command them for a length of time, will learn ſubordination. The crews, trained up with care to the ſervice, and inſtructed in the manœuvres by the captains who are to reap the fruits of all their trouble, will then fight with more reſolution, and with better ſkill. Europe hath appeared aſtoniſhed that the French, who were worthy rivals of the Engliſh at the beginning of the laſt wars, had loſt in time that honourable equality. Several cauſes have occaſioned this revolution: the principal of them, and which hath not been attended to, is, that the French have have had freſh ſailors every campaign, and that their rivals have always kept the ſame till the termination of hoſtilities.

The eſtabliſhment of ſtationary ſquadrons ſhould be followed by other innovations of no leſs importance. The corps of the navy, at preſent too numerous, and burthened with uſeleſs and idle members, ought to be proportioned to the number of ſhips and of armaments. Thoſe fatal departments, which excite jealouſy without emulation, and which, by hereditary hatred, often occaſion the miſcarriage of the beſt contrived projects, muſt be aboliſhed. Rank, which every where,

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where, and in all ages, hath ſtifled genius and talents, will ceaſe to preſide over the promotions and the rewards. Among the too great number of ranks it is neceſſary to paſs through, ſeveral muſt be ſuppreſſed, in order that it may be poſſible for a man to acquire a command, before the time preſcribed by nature for quitting it. If it be thought neceſſary to preſerve the different claſſes of officers, the direction of them will be altered, and better regulated. The admirals, whoſe ſtrength, courage, and activity ſhall be diminiſhed, either by age, by labour, or by the wounds they may have received, muſt form a tribunal, which ſhall direct the choice, the preſervation, and the employment of the naval ſtores. It muſt be the buſineſs of this tribunal to regulate admiſſion into the navy, to determine the promotions, to beſtow the command, to ſettle the cruizes, and direct as much as poſſible all the operations. Such will hereafter be the council of a miniſter, who, ignorant of his functions, ſituated at the diſtance of a hundred leagues from the ſea, devoted either from inclination or neceſſity to the intrigues of a tempeſtuous court, hath been conſtantly, to the preſent time, the ſport of a few obſcure, ignorant, and intereſted adventurers.

In proportion as theſe plans of reformation which we have been tracing ſhall be carried into execution, the ſhips, which were growing rotten in a ſtate of inaction will be repaired, and others will be conſtructed. France will ſoon acquire numerous

numerous fleets. But where ſhall the reſources be found to put them in action?

Let thoſe too magnificent or uſeleſs edifices, the maintaining of which becomes ruinous, be demoliſhed: let there be a ſtop put to the diſhoneſty which hath but too commonly prevailed in the purchaſe of naval ſtores, and to the negligence with which they have been hitherto taken care of: let thoſe uſeleſs hands, which protection hath multiplied in our arſenals, be diſmiſſed: let the meaſures of adminiſtration be rendered more ſimple, by introducing juſtice and punctuality in our payments: let the crews of the ſhips, which all diſintereſted perſons acknowlege to be too numerous, be diminiſhed: let all thoſe officers, who are not employed at ſea in the ſervice of the ſtate, be reduced to half-pay: let every ſpecies of luxury, delicacy, and voluptuouſneſs, which enervates our defenders, and ruins our ſquadrons, be aboliſhed: let the refitting and repairing of our ſhips become leſs frequently neceſſary. After all theſe alterations, the funds at preſent ſet apart for the navy will be found ſufficient to put this eſſential branch of our power upon a reſpectable footing. There is even a very ſimple method of raiſing it ſtill higher, without any additional expence, which I ſhall now point out.

France hath formed colonies in the New World, from which it annually receives to the amount of 130,000,000 of livres * in commodities. The loſs of ſo conſiderable a produce would

* 5,416,666l. 13s. 4d.

leave

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leave an immenſe vacancy in it's ſpecie, in it's population, in it's induſtry, and in it's public revenue. The importance of preſerving theſe rich ſettlements hath been underſtood, and in order to accompliſh it, recourſe hath been had to battallions and fortreſſes. Experience hath proved the inſufficiency of theſe means. The defence of theſe colonies belongs, and muſt excluſively belong to the navy. The iſlands muſt therefore be put under it's protection, and the expences incurred for the inſufficient protection of them muſt be turned into it's treaſury: then will the ordinary funds of the navy of France be found ſufficient for the purpoſe of carrying on it's operations with dignity and advantage.

Such are the expectations of Europe. She will not think her liberty ſecured, till a flag ſhall be ſeen diſplayed upon the ocean that ſhall not tremble before that of Great Britain. The wiſhes of the nations are now united in favour of that power, which may be able to defend them againſt the pretenſions of one ſingle people to the univerſal monarchy of the ſeas; and at this preſent period there is none but France that can free them from this anxiety. The ſyſtem of equilibrium requires, therefore, that the court of Verſailes ſhould increaſe their navy, more eſpecially as they cannot do it without diminiſhing their land forces. Their influence being then divided between the two elements, will no longer be formidable on either, except to thoſe who ſhould be deſirous of diſturbing the harmony.

BEFORE I die, may this great revolution, already begun, be completed; together with other reformations which I have pointed out. Then ſhall I have obtained the true reward of my vigils. Then ſhall I exclaim: it is not in vain that I have obſerved, reflected, and laboured. Then ſhall I addreſs myſelf to Heaven, and ſay: "Diſpoſe of me at preſent according to thy will, "for mine eyes have ſeen the ſplendour of my "country, and the liberty of the ſeas reſtored "unto all nations!"

END OF THE THIRTEENTH BOOK.

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Settlement of the Engliſh in the American Iſlands.

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A NEW order of things now opens itſelf to our view. England is, in modern hiſtory, the country of great political phœnomena. It is there that we have ſeen liberty the moſt violently combating with deſpotiſm, ſometimes trampled under it's feet, at other times victorious in it's turn. It is there that it's triumph has been completed; which every thing, even the fanaticiſm of religion, hath concurred in bringing about. There it is, that one king, juridically brought to the ſcaffold, and another depoſed, with his whole race, by the decree of the nation, have given a great leſſon to the earth. There it is, that in the midſt of civil commotions, and in the intervals of momentary tranquillity, we have ſeen the exact and deep ſciences carried to their greateſt perfection we have ſeen the minds of men, accuſtomed to reaſon, to reflect, and to turn their attention particularly to government. It is there, in a word, that after long and violent ſtruggles, that conſtitution hath been formed, which, if it be not perfect, and free from all inconveniencies,

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is at leaſt the moſt happily ſuited to the ſituation of the country; the moſt favourable to it's trade; the beſt calculated to unfold genius, eloquence, and all the powers of the human mind; the only conſtitution, perhaps, ſince man hath lived in a ſocial ſtate, where the laws have ſecured to him his dignity, his perſonal liberty, and his freedom of thought; where, in a word, they have made him a citizen, that is to ſay, a conſtituent, and integral part of the conſtitution of the ſtate, and of the nation.

The ſtate of England when ſhe began to form ſettlements in the American iſlands.

ENGLAND had not yet diſplayed to the world this great ſcene, when her ſettlements in the Archipelago of America were firſt begun. Her agriculture was not extended either to flax or hemp. The attempts that had been made to raiſe mulberry-trees and breed ſilk-worms, had been unſucceſsful. The labours of the huſbandman were wholly engaged in the growing of corn, which, notwithſtanding the turn of the nation for rural employments, was ſeldom ſufficient for home conſumption, and many of their granaries were ſtored from the fields bordering on the Baltic.

INDUSTRY was ſtill leſs advanced than agriculture. It was confined to woollen manufactures. Theſe had been increaſed ſince the exportation of unwrought wool had been prohibited; but theſe iſlanders, who ſeemed to work only for themſelves, were ignorant of the method of ſpreading thoſe elegant ornaments upon their ſtuffs, which taſte contrived, to promote the ſale and conſumption of them. They ſent their cloths over to Holland,

Holland, where the Dutch gave them their colouring and gloſs; from whence they circulated all over Europe, and were even brought back to England.

Navigation ſcarce employed, at that time, ten thouſand ſailors. Theſe were in the ſervice of excluſive companies, which had engroſſed every branch of trade, not excepting that of woollen cloth, which alone conſtituted a tenth part of the commercial riches of the nation. Theſe, therefore, were centered in the hands of three or four hundred perſons, who agreed, for their own advantage, to fix the price of goods, both at going out and coming into the kingdom. The privileges of theſe monopolizers were exerciſed in the capital, where the court ſold the provinces. London alone had ſix times the number of ſhips that all the other ports of England had.

The public revenue neither was nor could be very conſiderable. It was farmed out; a ruinous method, which has preceded the eſtabliſhment of the finance in all ſtates, but has only been continued under arbitrary governments. The expences were proportionable to the low ſtate of the treaſury. The fleet was ſmall, and the ſhips ſo weak, that in times of neceſſity the merchantmen were turned into men of war. A hundred and ſixty thouſand militia, which was the whole military ſtrength of the nation, were armed in time of war. There were no ſtanding forces in time of peace, and the king himſelf had no guards.

With ſuch confined powers at home, the nation ſhould not have ventured to extend itſelf in ſettlements abroad. Notwithſtanding this, ſome colonies were eſtabliſhed, which laid a ſolid foundation of proſperity. The origin of theſe ſettlements was owen to certain events, the cauſes of which may be traced very far back.

Cauſes which haſtened the population of the Britiſh iſlands.

Whoever is acquainted with the hiſtory and progreſs of the Engliſh government, knows that the regal authority was for a long time balanced only by a ſmall number of great proprietors of land called Barons. They perpetually oppreſſed the people, the greater part of whom were degraded by ſlavery; and they were conſtantly ſtruggling againſt the power of the crown, with more or leſs ſucceſs, according to the character of the leading men, and the chance of circumſtances. Theſe political diſſentions occaſioned much bloodſhed.

The kingdom was exhauſted by inteſtine wars, which had laſted two hundred years, when Henry VII. aſſumed the reins of government on the deciſion of a battle, in which the nation, divided into two camps, had fought to give itſelf a maſter. That able prince availed himſelf of the ſtate of depreſſion into which a ſeries of calamities had ſunk his ſubjects, to extend the regal authority, the limits of which, the anarchy of the feudal government, though continually encroaching upon them, had never been able to fix. He was aſſiſted in this undertaking by the faction which had placed the crown upon his head, and which, being the weakeſt, could not hope to maintain

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itſelf in the principal employments to which thoſe who were engaged in it had been raiſed, unleſs they ſupported the ambition of their leader. This plan was ſtrengthened by permitting the nobility, for the firſt time, to alienate their lands. This dangerous indulgence, joined to a taſte for luxury, which then began to prevail in Europe, brought on a great revolution in the fortunes of individuals. The immenſe fiefs of the barons were gradually diſſipated, and the eſtates of the commoners increaſed.

The rights belonging to the ſeveral eſtates being divided with the property of them, it became ſo much the more difficult to unite the will and the power of many againſt the authority of one. The monarchs took advantage of this period, ſo favourable to their ambition, to govern without controul. The decayed nobility were in fear of a power which they had reinforced with all their loſſes. The commons thought themſelves ſufficiently honoured by the privilege of impoſing all the national taxes. The people, in ſome degree eaſed of their yoke, by this ſlight alteration in the conſtitution, and whoſe circle of ideas is always confined to buſineſs or labour, became tired of ſeditions, from the deſolation and miſeries which were the conſequence and the puniſhment of them. So that, while the nation was employed in ſearch of that ſovereign authority which had been loſt in the confuſion of civil wars, it's views were fixed upon the monarch alone. The majeſty of the throne, the whole luſtre of which was centered in him, ſeemed to be the ſource of that

authority, of which it ſhould only be the viſible ſign and permanent inſtrument.

SUCH was the ſituation of England, when James I. was called thither from Scotland, as being ſole heir to the two kingdoms, which, by his acceſſion, were united under one head. A turbulent nobility, imparting their fury to their barbarous vaſſals, had kindled the fire of ſedition in thoſe northern mountains which divided the iſland into two diſtinct ſtates. The monarch had, from his earlieſt years, been as averſe from limited authority, as the people were from deſpotiſm and abſolute monarchy, which then prevailed all over Europe; and as the new king was equal to other ſovereigns, it was natural that he ſhould be ambitious of the ſame power. His predeceſſors had enjoyed it, even in England, for a century paſt. But he was not aware that they owed it to their own political abilities, or to favourable circumſtances. This religious prince, who believed he held all from God and nothing from men, fancied that ſtength of reaſon, wiſdom, and council, was centered in himſelf, and ſeemed to arrogate to himſelf that infallibility of which the pope had been deprived by the reformation, the tenets of which he adopted, though he diſliked them. Theſe falſe principles, which tended to change government into a myſtery of religion, the more odious, as it equally influences the opinions, wills, and actions of men, were ſo rooted in his mind, together with all the other prejudices of a bad education, that he did not even think of

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ſupporting them with any of the human aids of prudence or force.

NOTHING could be more repugnant to the general diſpoſition of the people than this ſyſtem. All was in commotion both at home and abroad. The diſcovery of America had haſtened the advancement of Europe. Navigation extended round the whole globe. The mutual intercourſe of nations would ſoon have removed prejudices, and opened the door to induſtry and knowlege. The mechanical and liberal arts were extended, and were advancing to perfection by the luxury that prevailed. Literature acquired the ornaments of taſte; and the ſciences gained that degree of ſolidity which ſprings from a ſpirit of calculation and commerce. The circle of politics was extended. This univerſal ferment exalted the ideas of men. The ſeveral bodies which compoſed the monſtrous coloſſus of gothic government, rouzed from that lethargic ſtate of ignorance in which they had been ſunk for many ages, ſoon began to exert themſelves on all ſides, and to form enterprizes. On the Continent, where mercenary troops had been adopted, under pretence of maintaining diſcipline, moſt princes acquired an unlimited authority, oppreſſing their ſubjects either by force or intrigue. In England, the love of liberty, ſo natural to every feeling, or thinking man, excited in the people by the authors of religious innovations, and awakened in the minds of men, enlightened by becoming converſant with the great writers of antiquity, who

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derived from their democratic government that ſublimity of reaſon and ſentiment by which they are diſtinguiſhed; this love of liberty kindled in every generous breaſt the utmoſt abhorrence for unlimited authority. The aſcendant which Elizabeth found means to acquire and to preſerve, by an uninterrupted proſperity of forty years, withheld this impatience, or turned it to enterprizes that were beneficial to the ſtate. But no ſooner did another branch aſcend the throne, and the ſcepter devolved to a monarch, who, by the very violence of his pretenſions, was not much to be dreaded, than the nation aſſerted it's rights, and entertained the ambitious thoughts of governing itſelf.

It was at this period that warm diſputes aroſe between the court and the parliament. Both powers ſeemed to be making trial of their ſtrength by continual oppoſition. The prince pretended, that an entire paſſive obedience was due to him; and that national aſſemblies were only the ornaments, not the baſis of the conſtitution. The citizens loudly exclaimed againſt theſe principles, always weak when they come to be diſcuſſed; and maintained, that the people were an eſſential part of government, as well as the monarch, and, perhaps, in a higher degree. The one is the matter, the other the form. Now the form may, and muſt change, for the preſervation of the matter. The ſupreme law is the welfare of the people, not that of the prince; the king may die, the monarchy may be at an end; and ſociety ſubſiſt without either monarch or throne.

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In this manner the Engliſh reaſoned at the dawn of liberty. They quarrelled, they oppoſed, and threatened each other. James died in the midſt of theſe debates, leaving his ſon to diſcuſs his rights, with the reſolution of extending them.

The experience of all ages has ſhew'n, that the ſtate of tranquillity which follows the eſtabliſhment of abſolute power, occaſions a coolneſs in the minds of the people, damps their courage, cramps their genius, and throws a whole nation into an univerſal lethargy. But let us explain the ſucceſſive progreſſion of this miſery; and let the people be acquainted with the profound ſtate of annihilation into which they are ſunk, or with which they are menaced.

As ſoon as the great object, which men only view with fear and trembling, hath been raiſed up in the midſt of the nation, the ſubjects are divided into two claſſes. One of them keeps at a diſtance, from fear; the other approaches this object from ambition; and the latter flatters itſelf with ſecurity from the conſciouſneſs of it's meanneſs. It forms, between the deſpot and the reſt of the nation, an order of ſubaltern tyrants, not leſs ſuſpicious, and more cruel, than their maſter. One hears nothing from them but theſe words: The king hath ſaid it; it is the king's pleaſure; I have ſeen the king; I have ſupped with the king; it is the king's intention. Theſe words are always liſtened to with aſtoniſhment; and they are ſoon conſidered as the orders of the ſovereign. Should there be any energy remaining, it is among the military, whoſe ſenſe of their own

own importance only ſerves to make them more inſolent. What part doth the prieſt act in this conjuncture? If he be in favour, he completes the ſlaviſhneſs and degeneracy of the people by his example and by his diſcourſes; if he be neglected, he grows out of humour, becomes factious, and ſeeks out ſome fanatic, who will ſacrifice himſelf to his views. In all parts where there are no fixt laws, no juſtice, no unalterable forms, no real property, the influence of the magiſtrate is little or nothing; he waits only for a ſignal, to become whatever one may chuſe. The great nobleman cringes before the prince, and the people cringe before the great nobleman. The natural dignity of man is eclipſed; and he hath not the leaſt idea of his rights. Around the deſpot, his agents and his favourites, the ſubjects are cruſhed under foot, with the ſame inadvertence that we cruſh the inſects which ſwarm among the duſt of our fields. The morals are become corrupt. There comes a time when the moſt inordinate vexations, and the moſt unheard-of outrages loſe their atrocious character, and no longer excite horror. Any one who ſhould pronounce the names of virtue, of patriotiſm, and of equity, would only be conſidered as a man of too much warmth; an expreſſion which always implies, an abject indulgence of crimes by which we profit. The body of the nation becomes diſſolute and ſuperſtitious; for deſpotiſm cannot be eſtabliſhed without the interference of ſuperſtition, nor be maintained without it's ſupport; and ſervitude leads on to debauchery, which affords

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ſome relief to the mind, and is never ſuppreſſed. Men of information, if there be any of them remaining, have their views; they pay their court to the great, and profeſs the religion of policy. Tyranny, leading on in it's train a number of ſpies and informers, theſe are conſequently to be found in all ſtates, not excepting the moſt diſtinguiſhed of them. The leaſt indiſcretion, aſſuming the hue of high-treaſon, enemies are very dangerous, and friends become ſuſpicious. Men think little, ſay nothing, and are afraid of reaſoning: they are even alarmed at their own ideas. The philoſopher keeps his thoughts to himſelf, as the rich man conceals his treaſure. The man who leads the beſt life, is the moſt unknow'n. Miſtruſt and terror form the baſis of the general manners. The citizens live ſeparate from each other; and the whole nation becomes melancholy, puſillanimous, ſtupid, and ſilent. Such is the ſeries, ſuch, the fatal ſymptoms, or the ſcale of miſery, by which every nation may learn the degree of it's own wretchedneſs.

If, in lieu of the preceding phœnomena, we imagine others that are directly contrary, they will indicate that motion of legiſlative bodies which tends to liberty. It is diſorderly, it is rapid, it is violent. It is a fever, more or leſs ardent, but always attended with convulſions. Every thing announces ſedition and murders. Every thing makes the people tremble, leſt a general diſſolution ſhould take place; and if they be not deſtined to experience this laſt evil, it is in blood that their felicity muſt revive.

England experienced this in the beginning of the reign of Charles I.; who, though not ſo great a pedant as his father, was equally fond of authority. The diviſion which had begun between the king and the parliament, ſpread itſelf throughout the nation. The higheſt claſs of the nobility, and the ſecond, which was the richeſt, afraid of being confounded with the vulgar, engaged on the ſide of the king, from whom they derived that borrowed luſtre, which they returned him by a voluntary and venal bondage. As they ſtill poſſeſſed moſt of the conſiderable land-eſtates, they engaged almoſt all the country people in their party; who naturally love the king, becauſe they think he muſt love them. London, and all the great towns, inſpired by municipal government with the republican ſpirit, declared for the parliament, and drew along with them the trading part of the nation, who, valuing themſelves as much as the merchants in Holland, aſpired to the ſame freedom as that democracy.

These diviſions brought on the ſharpeſt, the moſt bloody, and the moſt obſtinate civil war ever recorded in hiſtory. Never did the Engliſh ſpirit ſhew itſelf in ſo dreadful a manner. Every day exhibited freſh ſcenes of violence, which ſeemed to have been already carried to the higheſt exceſs; and theſe again were outdone by others, ſtill more atrocious. It ſeemed as if the nation was juſt upon the brink of deſtruction, and that every Briton had ſwor'n to bury himſelf under the ruins of his country.

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By what men the Britiſh iſlands were peopled.

In this general tumult, the moſt moderate ſought for a peaceable retreat in the American iſlands, which the Engliſh had lately ſeized upon. The tranquillity they found there, induced others to follow them. While the ſedition was ſpreading in the mother-country, the colonies grew up and were peopled. The patriots who had fled from faction were ſoon after joined by the royaliſts, who were oppreſſed by the republican party, which had at laſt prevailed.

Both theſe were followed by thoſe reſtleſs and ſpirited men, whoſe ſtrong paſſions inſpire them with geat deſires and vaſt projects; who deſpiſe dangers, hazards, and fatigues, and wiſh to ſee no other end to them but death or fortune; who know of no medium between affluence and want; equally calculated to overturn or to ſerve their country, to lay it waſte or to enrich it.

The iſlands were alſo the refuge of merchants who had been unfortunate in trade, or were reduced by their creditors to a ſtate of indigence and idleneſs. Unable as they were to fulfil their engagements, this very misfortune paved the way to their proſperity. After a few years they returned with affluence into their own country, and met with the higheſt reſpect in thoſe very places from whence they had been baniſhed with ignominy and contempt.

This reſource was ſtill more neceſſary for young people, who in the firſt tranſports of youth had been draw'n into exceſſes of debauchery and licentiouſneſs. If they had not quitted their country, ſhame and diſgrace, which never fail to depreſs the

the mind, would have prevented them from recovering either regularity of manners or public eſteem. But in another country, where the experience they had of vice might prove a leſſon of wiſdom, and where they had no occaſion to attempt to remove any unfavourable impreſſions, they found, after their misfortunes, a harbour in which they reſted with ſafety. Their induſtry made amends for their paſt follies; and men who had left Europe like vagabonds, and who had diſgraced it, returned honeſt men, and uſeful members of ſociety.

All theſe ſeveral coloniſts had at their diſpoſal, for the clearing and tilling of their lands, the moſt profligate ſet of men of the three kingdoms, who had deſerved death for capital crimes; but who, from motives of humanity and good policy, were ſuffered to live and to work for the benefit of the ſtate. Theſe malefactors, who were tranſported for a term of years, which they were to ſpend in ſlavery, became induſtrious, and acquired manners, which placed them once more in the way of fortune. There were ſome of thoſe, who, when reſtored to ſociety by the freedom they had gained, became planters, heads of families, and the owners of the beſt plantations; a proof how much it is for the intereſt of a civilized ſociety to admit this lenity in the penal laws, ſo conformable to human nature, which is frail, but capable of ſenſibility, and of turning from evil to good.

Under what form of government the Britiſh iſlands were eſtabliſhed.

The mother-country, however, was too much taken up with it's own domeſtic diſſenſions, to think

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think of giving laws to the iſlands under it's dominion; and the coloniſts were not ſufficiently enlightened to draw up ſuch a ſyſtem of legiſlation as was fit for an infant ſociety. While the civil war was rectifying the government in England, the colonies, juſt emerging from a ſtate of infancy, formed their own conſtitution upon the model of the mother-country. In each of theſe ſeparate ſettlements, a chief repreſents the king; a council the peers; and the deputies of the ſeveral diſtricts, the commons. The general aſſembly enacts laws, regulates taxes, and judges of the adminiſtration. The executive part belongs to the governor; who alſo occaſionally determines upon cauſes which have not been tried before, but in conjunction with the council, and by the majority of votes. But as the members of this body derive their rank from him, it is ſeldom that they thwart his deſigns.

GREAT BRITAIN, to reconcile her own intereſts with the freedom of her colonies, took care that no laws ſhould be enacted there which were inconſiſtent with their own. She hath required that her delegates ſhould take an oath that, in the places ſubject to their authority, they would never allow, upon any pretence whatever, any deviation from the regulations eſtabliſhed for the proſperity of her trade. This tie of an oath hath been contrived, becauſe, as the iſlands themſelves regulate and pay the greater part of the ſalaries of their chiefs, it was to be apprehended that ſome of theſe commanders might endeavour to excite liberality by their indulgence. Another

ther check hath been put to corruption. It is neceſſary that the ſtipend granted to the governor, ſhould extend to the whole duration of his adminiſtration; and that it ſhould be the object of the firſt bill paſſed on his arrival. Theſe precautions have however appeared inſufficient to ſome perſons of a deſpotic turn of mind. Accordingly, it hath been their opinion, to proſcribe a cuſtom, which in ſome meaſure made thoſe who iſſue orders dependent upon men who were ſubordinate to them; but the parliament have always refuſed to make this alteration. Juſtly dreading that ſpirit of rapaciouſneſs which induces men to croſs the ſeas, they have always kept up a cuſtom which they think proper to check the ſpirit of cupidity and tyranny. It is with the ſame view, that they have decreed againſt thoſe governors who ſhould violate the laws of the colonies, the ſame penalties as are inflicted in England on thoſe who treſpaſs upon the national conſtitution.

The parliament have likewiſe impowered the iſlands, to have in the mother-country deputies appointed to take care of their intereſts. Their principal duty is to obtain the confirmation of the ſtatutes paſſed in the colonies. Theſe acts are executed proviſionally: but they do not paſs into a law, till they have been approved of by the ſovereign. This ſanction once obtained, they can only be revoked by an aſſembly of the colony itſelf, or by the parliament; which exerciſes ſupreme authority over the whole empire. The buſineſs of the agents of the iſlands at London,

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don, is the ſame as that of the repreſentatives of the people in the Britiſh ſenate. Unhappy will it be for the ſtate, if ever it ſhould diſregard the clamours of the repreſentatives, whoever they may be. The counties in England would riſe; the colonies would ſhake off their allegiance in America; the treaſures of both worlds would be loſt to the mother-country, and the whole empire would fall into confuſion.

The ſources of public felicity have not yet been corrupted by this improper ſpirit. The ſettlements formed in the Weſt Indies have been always attached to their own country by the ties of blood, and by thoſe of neceſſity. Their planters have been conſtantly looking up to their mother-country, who is ever attentive to their preſervation and their improvement. One might ſay, that as the eagle, who never loſes ſight of the neſt where ſhe foſters her young, London ſeems to look down upon her colonies, and to ſee them grow up and proſper under her tender care. Her numberleſs veſſels, covering an extent of two thouſand leagues with their proud ſails, form, as it were, a bridge over the ocean; by which they keep up an uninterrupted communication between both worlds. With good laws, which maintain what ſhe has once eſtabliſhed, ſhe preſerves her poſſeſſions abroad without a ſtanding army, which is always an oppreſſive and ruinous burden. Two very ſmall corps, fixed at Antigua and Jamiaca, are ſufficient for a nation which thinks, with reaſon, that maritime forces, well maintained, kept in continual employment,

and

and always directed towards the public good, are the true fortifications of theſe uſeful ſettlements.

By theſe beneficent regulations, dictated by humanity and ſound policy, the Engliſh iſlands ſoon grew happy, though not rich. Their culture was confined to tobacco, cotton, ginger, and indigo. Some of the enterpriſing coloniſts imported ſugar canes from Brazil, and they multiplied prodigiouſly, but to no great purpoſe. They were ignorant of the art of managing this valuable plant, and drew from it ſuch indifferent ſugar, that it was either rejected in Europe, or ſold at the loweſt price. A ſeries of voyages to Fernambucca taught them how to make uſe of the treaſure they had carried off; and the Portugueſe, who till then had engroſſed all the ſugar trade, found, in 1650, in an ally, whoſe induſtry they thought precarious, a rival who was one day to ſupplant them.

Means employed by the mother-country to ſecure to itſelf all the productions of the iſlands.

The mother-country, however, had but a very ſmall ſhare in the proſperity of her colonies. They themſelves ſent their own commodities directly to all parts of the world, where they thought they would be diſpoſed of to moſt advantage; and indiſcriminately admitted ſhips of all nations into their ports. This unlimited freedom muſt of courſe throw almoſt all their trade into the hands of that nation which, in conſequence of the low intereſt their money bears, the largeneſs of their ſtock, the number of their ſhips, and the reaſonableneſs of their duties of import and export, could afford to make the beſt terms, to buy at the deareſt, and ſell at the cheapeſt rate. Theſe people

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people were the Dutch. They united all the advantages of a ſuperior army; which, being ever maſter of the field, is free in all it's operations. They ſoon ſeized upon the profits of ſo many productions, which they had neither planted nor gathered. Ten of their ſhips were ſeen in the Britiſh iſlands to one Engliſh veſſel.

THE nation had paid little attention to this evil during the diſturbances of the civil wars; but as ſoon as theſe troubles were compoſed, and the ſtate reſtored to tranquillity by the very violence of it's commotions, it began to turn it's views towards it's foreign poſſeſſions. It perceived that thoſe ſubjects, who had as it were taken refuge in America, would be loſt to the ſtate, if foreign powers, which conſumed the fruits of the induſtry of the colonies, were not excluded. The deliberate and weighty diſcuſſion of this point brought on the famous navigation act in 1651, which excluded all foreign ſhips from entering the harbours of the Engliſh iſlands, and conſequently obliged their produce to be exported directly to the countries under the dominion of England. The government, though aware of the inconveniencies of ſuch an excluſion, was not alarmed at it, but conſidered the empire only as a tree, the ſap of which muſt be turned back to the trunk, when it flows too freely to ſome of the branches.

HOWEVER, this reſtraining law was not then enforced in it's utmoſt rigour. Perhaps the ſhips belonging to the mother-country were not ſufficiently numerous to carry off all the productions

of the iſlands; perhaps, apprehenſions might prevail, that the coloniſts might be exaſperated by ſuddenly depriving their coaſts of a competition which increaſed the price of their commodities. Perhaps, the plantations ſtill required ſome ſupport, in order to bring their cultures to that degree of perfection that was expected. However this may be, it is certain, that the act of navigation was not rigorouſly put in execution till 1660. At this period, the Engliſh ſugars had been ſubſtituted to thoſe of Portugal, in all the northern parts of Europe. It is to be ſuppoſed, that they would equally have ſupplanted them to the ſouth, had not the obligation impoſed upon all the navigators to ſtop at the Britiſh ports before they paſſed the Streights of Gibraltar, put an inſurmountable obſtacle to this trade. It is true, that in order to attain this ſuperiority over the only nation that was in poſſeſſion of this commodity, the Engliſh had been obliged greatly to lower the price of it; but their plentiful crops made them ample amends for this neceſſary ſacrifice. If other nations were encouraged by their ſucceſs to raiſe plantations, at leaſt for their own conſumption, the Engliſh opened other markets, which ſupplied the place of the former. The only misfortune they experienced in a long ſeries of years, was, the ſeeing many of their cargoes taken by French privateers, and ſold at a low price. The planter ſuſtained by this a double inconvenience, that of loſing part of his ſugars, and being obliged to ſell the remainder below their value.

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Diminution of the advantages which England derived from it's iſlands. Cauſe of it.

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe tranſient piracies, which always ceaſed in time of peace, the plantations ſtill continued to increaſe in the Engliſh iſlands. All the productions peculiar to America were more carefully attended to; but the wealthy proprietors attached themſelves more particularly to the culture of ſugar, the ſale of which was conſtantly increaſing throughout all Europe. This proſperity exiſted for the ſpace of half a century, when attentive men perceived that the exportations decreaſed. It was then almoſt generally believed that the colonies were exhauſted; even the national ſenate adopted this idea, not conſidering that if the ſoil no longer had that degree of fertility peculiar to lands newly cleared, it ſtill retained that ſhare of fruitfulneſs which the earth ſeldom loſes, unleſs it's ſubſtance be altered by the calamities or by the irregularities of nature. The truth was ſoon aſcertained, and the Engliſh were obliged to acknowlege, that the foreign marts were inſenſibly ſhut againſt Great Britain, and would ſoon be opened only to France. This kingdom, which, from it's natural advantages, and from the active genius of it's inhabitants, ſhould be foremoſt in every undertaking, is ſo reſtrained by the nature of it's government, that it is the laſt in becoming acquainted with it's own intereſts. The French firſt procured their ſugars from the Engliſh. They afterwards made ſome for their own conſumption, then for ſale, till reſtraints of every kind obliged them to confine themſelves merely to what they wanted. It was not 'till 1716, that their iſlands began again

to

to ſupply other nations. The ſuperiority of their ſoil, the advantage of freſh lands, the frugality of their planters, who were yet poor, all conſpired to enable them to ſell the production at a lower price than their competitors. It was moreover of a better quality; accordingly, as it increaſed, that which was formerly in ſo great requeſt, was rejected in all the markets. Towards the year 1740, the ſugar of the French plantations became ſufficient for general conſumption, and at this period the Engliſh were reduced to cultivate no more than what they wanted for their own uſe. The quantity they made was ſtill very trifling at the beginning of the century, but the uſe of tea, and the habit of other indulgences, ſoon increaſed prodigiouſly the conſumption of this article.

The Engliſh form a ſettlement at Barbadoes. Great proſperity of this iſland.

Barbadoes was one of the Britiſh poſſeſſions which furniſhed moſt of this commodity. This iſland, which is ſituated to windward of all the reſt, appeared to have never been inhabited even by ſavages, when, in 1627, ſome Engliſh families went to ſettle there, but without any interference of government. It was not till two years after, that a regular colony was eſtabliſhed there, at the expence and by the care of the Earl of Carliſle, who, on the tragical death of Charles I. was deprived of a property which had been too imprudently granted him by that weak prince. It was found covered with ſuch large and hard trees, that uncommon reſolution and patience were required to fell them and root them up. The ground was ſoon cleared of this incumbrance, or

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ſtripped of this ornament: for it is doubtful whether nature does not decorate her own work better than man, who alters every thing for himſelf alone. Some patriots, tired of ſeeing the blood of their countrymen ſpilt, went and peopled this foreign land. While the other colonies were rather ravaged than cultivated by thoſe vagabonds who had been driven from their native country by poverty or licentiouſneſs, Barbadoes daily received new inhabitants, who brought along with them not only their ſtock of money, but a turn for labour, courage, activity, and ambition; thoſe vices and virtues which are the effect of civil wars.

By theſe means, an iſland, which is no more than ſeven leagues in length, from two to five in breadth, and eighteen in circumference, attained, in leſs than forty years, to a population of more than a hundred thouſand ſouls; and to a trade that employed four hundred ſhips of 150 tons burthen each. Never had the earth beheld ſuch a number of planters collected in ſo ſmall a compaſs, or ſo many rich productions raiſed in ſo ſhort a time. The labours, directed by Europeans, were performed by ſlaves purchaſed in Africa, or even ſtolen in America. This new ſpecies of barbarity was but a ruinous kind of prop for a new edifice, and very nearly occaſioned the ſubverſion of it.

Conſpiracy formed by the ſlaves in Barbadoes.

Some Engliſhmen, who had landed on the coaſts of the continent to get ſlaves, were diſcovered by the Caribs, who were the objects of their ſearch. Theſe ſavages fell upon them, and put them

them all to death or to flight. A young man, who had been long purſued, ran into a wood; where an Indian woman meeting him, ſaved his life, concealed and fed him, and ſome time after conducted him to the ſea-ſide. His companions were lying at anchor there, waiting for the men they miſſed, and ſent the boat to fetch him. His deliverer inſiſted on following him on board the ſhip. They were no ſooner landed at Barbadoes, but the monſter ſold her who had ſaved his life, and had beſtowed her heart as well as her perſon upon him. To vindicate the honour of the Engliſh nation, one of their poets has recorded this ſhocking inſtance of avarice and perfidy, to be abhorred by poſterity: It has been told in ſeveral languages, and held out to the deteſtation of all foreign nations.

The Indians, who were not bold enough to undertake to revenge themſelves, imparted their reſentment to the Negroes, who had ſtronger motives, if poſſible, for hating the Engliſh. The ſlaves unanimouſly vowed the death of their tyrants. This conſpiracy was carried on with ſuch ſecrecy, that, the day before it was to have been carried into execution, the colony had not the leaſt ſuſpicion of it. But, as if generoſity was always to be the virtue of the wretched, one of the leaders of the plot informed his maſter of it. Letters were immediately diſpatched to all the plantations, and came in time to prevent the impending deſtruction. The following night the ſlaves were ſeized in their huts; the moſt guilty

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were executed at break of day; and this act of ſeverity reduced the reſt to obedience.

Preſent ſtate of Barbadoes.

They have never revolted ſince, and yet the colony hath declined conſiderably from it's former proſperity. It ſtill reckons ten thouſand white people, and fifty thouſand Negroes; but the crops are not anſwerable to the population. In the moſt favourable ſeaſons, they do not amount to more than twenty millions weight of ſugar, and are very often below ten millions; and yet to obtain this trifling produce, expences are required much more conſiderable than were neceſſary for double the produce in the beginning.

The ſoil of the colony, which is no more than a rock of calcareous ſtone, covered with very little earth, is entirely exhauſted. It is neceſſary to make a deep opening in it every year, and to fill up with manure the holes which have been made. The moſt ordinary of theſe manures is the Varec, a ſea-weed which is periodically throw'n upon the coaſt by the ſea-tide. The ſugar-canes are planted in this ſea-weed. The natural ſoil is of little more uſe in the growth of them, than the cheſts in which the orange trees are put in Europe.

The ſugar which is produced by theſe cultures, hath generally ſo little conſiſtence, that it cannot be exported in it's raw ſtate, but muſt previouſly be earthed; a method which is not followed in the other Engliſh ſettlements, although it be not prohibited there, as ſeveral writers have advanced. One great proof of it's bad quality is, that it is ſooner reduced to melaſſes than any where elſe. The droughts, which are ſo frequent at

Barbadoes

Barbadoes ſince the country hath been entirely laid open, ſerve to complete the misfortunes of the inhabitants of this iſland, which was formerly in ſo flouriſhing a ſtate.

ACCORDINGLY, though the taxes do not amount annually to more than 136,291 livres *, paid by a trifling poll-tax upon the Negroes and by ſome other impoſts, the coloniſts are reduced to a ſtate of mediocrity which approaches to indigence. This ſituation prevents them from leaving the care of their plantations to agents, in order to go and inhabit milder climates. It even renders them inhuman towards their ſlaves, whom they treat with a degree of cruelty unknow'n in the other colonies.

BARBADOES was very lately the only trading poſſeſſion belonging to the Engliſh in the Windward Iſlands. The ſhips coming from Africa uſed generally to put in there. They delivered their whole cargo to one ſingle purchaſer, and at a ſettled price, without diſtinction of either age or ſex in the bargain. Theſe Negroes, thus bought in the wholeſale way by the merchants, were ſold in retail in the iſland itſelf, or in the other Engliſh ſettlements, and the refuſe of them was either clandeſtinely or openly introduced in the colonies of the other nations. This great trade hath conſiderably decreaſed. Hence moſt of the other Britiſh iſlands have choſen to receive their ſlaves directly from Guinea, and have ſubmitted to the eſtabliſhed cuſtom of paying for

* 5,678l. 15s. 10d.

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them with bills of exchange at ninety days ſight. This credit, which was inſufficient, hath ſince been extended to a twelvemonth, and it hath frequently been neceſſary to prolong it even beyond that term.

BEFORE this revolution, a conſiderable quantity of ſpecie was in circulation at Barbadoes. The little coin which is at preſent ſtill found there, is Spaniſh; it is conſidered as merchandize, and is only taken by weight. The navy which is appropriated to this ſettlement conſiſts of a few veſſels, which are neceſſary for it's ſeveral correſpondences, and of about forty ſloops, employed in the fiſhery of the flying-fiſh.

BARBADOES is generally even, and every where ſuſceptible of cultivation, except in a very ſmall number of hollow ways. It is only at the center that the territory riſes imperceptibly, and forms a kind of mountain, covered up to it's ſummit with plantations equally convenient and agreeable, becauſe they were all eſtabliſhed in times of great opulence. The iſland is not watered with rivers, but ſprings of water fit for drinking are rather common in it; and it is interſected from one end to another by very fine roads. Theſe all terminate at Bridge-town; a town badly ſituated but well built, where the commodities deſtined for exportation are embarked, although it be only a road open to ſeveral winds.

Is Barbadoes capable of making a good defence?

THE colony, divided into eleven pariſhes, doth not afford one poſt where an enemy once landed could be ſtopped; and the landing, which is not poſſible in ſeveral parts of the coaſt, is very practicable

ticable in others, notwithſtanding the redoubts and batteries planted to prevent it. Military men think, that the ſureſt way of ſucceeding in an attack, would be to make it between the capital and the town of Hole-town.

THIS enterprize would require more conſiderable forces than might be imagined, conſidering that Barbadoes hath no regular troops. It is filled with planters of ſmall ſtature, brave and active, accuſtomed to military exerciſes, and who probably would make ſcarce leſs reſiſtance than a mercenary army. The armament deſtined for this conqueſt ſhould be diſpatched from Europe; if it were formed at Martinico, or at any other ſettlement ſituated to leeward, the Engliſh ſquadrons which would be in thoſe latitudes, might block up the port where the expedition was preparing, or might arrive at Barbadoes time enough to diſturb the operations of the beſiegers.

THIS iſland is to the windward of all the others, and yet no great advantage can be reaped from it's poſition, conſidered in a military light. It hath only ſuch harbours as are fit to receive veſſels that come to trade there; and though it be leſs expoſed to ſtorms and to hurricanes than the neighbouring latitudes, it doth not offer at any time a ſecure aſylum to men of war, and ſtill leſs during the laſt ſix months of the year, when the ſea is more tempeſtuous. The mother-country hath therefore formed no naval eſtabliſhment upon it. The national ſquadrons are never ſtationed there; and if any of them ſometimes appear, it is only for a little while. Thus it was, that, in

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1761 and in 1762, during the fine weather, in the months of January and February, the fleets deſtined for the conqueſt of Martinico and of the Havannah were aſſembled there.

Events that have happened at Antigua. Production and expences of that iſland. The importance of it to Great Britain.

ANTIGUA, which hath a circular form, and is about twenty miles long, was found totally uninhabited by thoſe few Frenchmen who fled thither in 1628, upon being driven from St. Chriſtopher's by the Spaniards. The want of ſprings, which doubtleſs was the reaſon why no ſavages had ſettled there, induced theſe fugitives to return, as ſoon as they could regain their former habitations. Some Engliſhmen, more enterpriſing than either the French or the Caribs, flattered themſelves that they ſhould overcome this great obſtacle, by collecting the rain-water in ciſterns; and they therefore ſettled there. The year in which this ſettlement was begun is not exactly know'n; but it appears that in January 1640 there were about thirty families on the iſland.

THE number was not much increaſed, when Lord Willoughby, to whom King Charles II. had granted the property of Antigua, ſent over a conſiderable number of inhabitants at his own expence in 1666. It is probable they would never have enriched themſelves by the culture of tobacco, indigo, and ginger, the only commodities they dealt in, had not colonel Codrington introduced into the iſland, which was then reſtored to the dominion of the ſtate, a ſource of wealth, in the year 1680, by the culture of ſugar. This being at firſt black, harſh, and coarſe, was rejected in England, and could only be diſpoſed of

of in Holland, and in the Hans towns, where it ſold at a much lower price than that of the other colonies. By the moſt aſſiduous labour, art got the better of nature, and brought this ſugar to as great a perfection, and to ſell for as high a price as any other.

Every one was then deſirous of extending this culture. In 1741, it employed three thouſand five hundred and thirty-eight white men, and twenty-ſeven thouſand four hundred and eighteen Negroes. Since that period, the number of free men hath been much diminiſhed, and that of the ſlaves is conſiderably increaſed. Their united labours produce eighteen or twenty millions weight of raw ſugar, and a proportionate quantity of rum. This income is conſiderably leſs in thoſe ſeaſons, which occur too frequently, when the colony is afflicted with drought; and for this reaſon it is very much indebted.

All the tribunals are eſtabliſhed at St. John's, ſituated to the Weſt of the iſland. The greateſt part of the trade hath been likewiſe concentrated in that town. Unfortunately, it's port is cloſed up by a bar, upon which there is no more than twelve feet of water. If the depth of water ſhould ſtill decreaſe, the navigators will take in their cargoes to the North of the colony, in the road of Parham, which is much preferable to the one they now frequent, but which is infinitely leſs convenient for the collecting of the commodities.

Motives of great importance ſhould excite England to prevent, by all poſſible means, the decline

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decline of ſo valuable a ſettlement. It is the only bulwark of the numerous and ſmall iſlands which that country poſſeſſes in theſe latitudes. They all depend upon Antigua, and upon the Engliſh Havre, an excellent port, where the naval forces deſigned for their protection, anchor, and where the ſquadrons find collected in arſenals, and in well-ſtocked magazines, the articles neceſſary to carry on their operations. The maintenance of the ſmall fortifications which ſurround the two principal harbours; part of the pay of ſix hundred men, intruſted with their defence; the coſts occaſioned by the artillery; all theſe expences are defrayed by the colony, and abſorb two-thirds of the 272,582 livres * which it is obliged to require annually from it's inhabitants.

This is too great a burthen. In order to diminiſh the weight of it, the aſſembly of the iſland thought of laying a tax upon thoſe proprietors who ſhould reſide in Europe: but the mother-country annulled a regulation which was evidently injurious to the liberty of individuals. The colony then ordered, that the planters ſhould for the future have only one white man, or two white women, to every ſet of thirty Negroes. This law, which was adopted by ſeveral other iſlands, is not much attended to, becauſe it is leſs expenſive to tranſgreſs it, than to maintain free men, whoſe attendance cannot be compelled. The penalties, therefore, which are regulated for puniſhing the tranſgreſſion of this

* 11,357 l. 11 s. 8 d.

law,

law, are become one of the greateſt reſources of the public treaſury of that ſettlement.

It's legiſlative body hath ſometimes diſplayed a remarkable ſhare of courage. The Engliſh iſlands have no coin which belongs properly to themſelves: that which is circulated there, is all foreign. The mother-country thought it neceſſary to ſettle the value of it in the beginning of the century. This arrangement was judged to be contrary to the intereſt of the colony, who themſelves ſettled it upon a higher footing. It was natural to imagine that parliament would annul an act ſo repugnant to their authority. The lawyers agreed, if that event ſhould take place, never to lend their aſſiſtance to any of thoſe who ſhould have refuſed to accept the coin at the price fixed by the aſſembly.

Another occurrence exhibited in a ſtill ſtronger light the kind of ſpirit which prevailed at Antigua. The governor, colonel Park, ſetting equally at defiance the laws of morality and decency, was unreſtrained and intemperate in all his proceedings. The colony demanded, and obtained, his recal. As he did not ſeem diſpoſed to depart, ſeveral of the moſt conſiderable inhabitants went to expoſtulate with him, in the ſtrongeſt terms, upon this kind of diſobedience. They were repulſed with brutality by his guards. The people took up arms, and the tyrant was attacked in his own houſe, and maſſacred. His body was then throw'n naked into the ſtreet, and mutilated by thoſe whoſe bed he had diſhonoured. The mother-country, more

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moved by the ſacred rights of nature than jealous of her own authority, overlooked an act which her vigilance ought to have prevented, but which ſhe was too equitable to revenge. It is only the part of tyranny to excite a rebellion, and then to quench it in the blood of the oppreſſed. Machiaveliſm, which teaches princes the art of being feared and deteſted, directs them to ſtifle the victims whoſe cries grow importunate. Humanity preſcribes to kings, juſtice in legiſlation, mildneſs in government, lenity to prevent inſurrections, and mercy to pardon them. Religion enjoins obedience to the people; but God, above all things, requires equity in princes. If they violate it, innumerable witneſſes will riſe up againſt a ſingle man at the final judgment.

The council of Antigua doth not extend it's juriſdiction over the neighbouring iſlands, which have all their particular aſſemblies: but the governor of Antigua is alſo governor of the other iſlands, except Barbadoes, which, on account of it's poſition and importance, hath deſerved particular diſtinction. This governor-general muſt pay an annual viſit to the places under his authority; and he uſually begins his tour by Montſerrat.

State of the ſettlement formed by the Engliſh at Montſerrat.

This iſland, diſcovered in 1493 by Columbus, and occupied in 1632 by the Engliſh, is only eight or nine leagues in circumference. The ſavages, who lived peaceably in it, were expelled, according to cuſtom, by the uſurpers. This act of injuſtice was not at firſt followed with any very fortunate circumſtances. The progreſs of the

new ſettlement was for a long time ſo ſlow, that ſix and fifty years after it's foundation it ſcarce contained ſeven hundred inhabitants. It was not till towards the end of the century, that the population, both in white men and Negroes, became as numerous as it could be in ſo confined a poſſeſſion. Sugar canes were then ſubſtituted to commodities of little value, which had occaſioned their planters to languiſh in a ſtate of miſery. War and the elements overthrew, at ſeveral intervals, the beſt-founded expectations, and obliged the coloniſts to contract debts which are not yet paid off. At the preſent period, the activity of a thouſand free perſons, and the labours of eight thouſand ſlaves, produce five or ſix millions weight of raw ſugar, upon plains of little extent, or in vallies which are fertilized by the waters falling from the mountains. One of the diſadvantages of this iſland, the public expences of which do not exceed annually 49,887 livres *, is, that it has not one ſingle harbour where the lading and unlading can eaſily be made. The ſhips would even be in danger upon theſe coaſts, if the maſters did not take care, when they ſee a ſtorm approaching, to put out to ſea, or to take ſhelter in ſome neighbouring harbour. Nevis is expoſed to the ſame inconvenience.

Ancient manners and preſent ſtate of the iſland of Nevis.

THE moſt generally received opinion is, that the Engliſh ſettled on this iſland in 1628. It is properly nothing more than a very high mountain, of an eaſy aſcent, and crowned with tall trees.

* 2,078l. 12s. 6d.

The

The plantations lie all round; and, beginning at the ſea-ſide, are continued almoſt to the top of the mountain; but the higher they ſtand the leſs fertile they are, becauſe the ſoil grows more ſtony. This iſland is watered by many ſtreams, which would be ſo many ſources of plenty, if they did not in ſtormy weather ſwell into torrents, waſh away the lands, and deſtroy the treaſures they have produced.

THE colony of Nevis was a model of virtue, order, and piety. Theſe exemplary manners have been owen to the paternal care of the firſt governor. This incomparable man inſpired all the inhabitants, by his own example, with a love of labour, a reaſonable œconomy, and innocent recreations. The perſon who commanded, and thoſe who obeyed, were all actuated by the ſame principle of the ſtricteſt equity. So rapid was the progreſs of this ſingular ſettlement, that, if we may credit all the accounts of thoſe times, it ſoon contained 10,000 white people, and 20,000 blacks. Admitting even that ſuch a population, upon a territory of two leagues in length, and one in breadth, ſhould be exaggerated, ſtill it will ſhew the amazing but infallible effect of virtue, in promoting the proſperity of a well-regulated ſociety.

BUT, even virtue itſelf will not ſecure either individuals or ſocieties from the calamities of nature, or from the injuries of fortune. In 1689, a dreadful mortality ſwept away half this happy colony. It was ravaged in 1706 by a French ſquadron, which carried off three or four thouſand ſlaves.

ſlaves. The next year the ruin of this iſland was completed, by the moſt violent hurricane ever recorded. Since this ſeries of diſaſters, it has recovered a little. It contains ſix hundred free men and five thouſand ſlaves, the taxes upon whom do not exceed 45,000 livres *, and who ſend to England three or four millions weight of raw ſugar, the whole of which is ſhipped under the walls of the agreeable city called Charles-town. Perhaps thoſe who repine moſt at the deſtruction of the Americans and the ſlavery of the Africans, would receive ſome conſolation if the Europeans were every where as humane as the Engliſh have been in this iſland of Nevis, and if all the iſlands in America were as well cultivated in proportion; but nature and ſociety afford few inſtances of ſuch miraculous proſperity.

St. Chriſtopher's, which is at firſt divided between the Engliſh and French, at laſt belongs entirely to Great Britain.

SAINT CHRISTOPHER'S was the nurſery of all the Engliſh and French colonies in America. Both nations arrived there on the ſame day, in 1625. They ſhared the iſland between them; ſigned a perpetual neutrality; and entered into a mutual engagement to aſſiſt each other againſt their common enemy the Spaniard, who for a century paſt had invaded or diſturbed the two hemiſpheres. Unfortunately, by an inconſiderate kind of convention, hunting, fiſhing, the woods, the harbours, and the ſalt-pits, had all been left in common. This arrangement mixed too many perſons together, who could not be agreeable to each other, and jealouſy ſoon divided thoſe whom a

* 1,875 l.

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temporary intereſt had united. This fatal paſſion created daily quarrels, ſkirmiſhes, and devaſtations; but theſe were only domeſtic animoſities, in which the reſpective governments took no part. Concerns of greater importance having, in 1666, kindled between the two mother-countries a war, which continued almoſt uninterruptedly during the remainder of the century, their ſubjects in St. Chriſtopher's fought with a degree of obſtinacy that was not to be found elſewhere. Sometimes conquerors, and ſometimes conquered, they alternately drove each other from their plantations. This long conteſt, in which both parties alternately had the advantage, was terminated by the total expulſion of the French in 1702; and the peace of Utrecht cut off all their hopes of ever returning thither.

What St. Chriſtopher's became, under the Britiſh government.

THIS was no great ſacrifice for a people who had never ſeriouſly attended to the care of cultivating productions upon their domain. Their population amounted but to 667 white people, of all ages and both ſexes; 29 free blacks, and 659 ſlaves. All their herds conſiſted only of 265 head of horned cattle, and 157 horſes. They cultivated nothing but a little cotton and indigo, and had but one ſingle ſugar plantation.

THOUGH the Engliſh had for a long time made a greater advantage of this iſland, yet they did not immediately reap all the benefit they might have done, from having the ſole poſſeſſion of it. This conqueſt was for a long time a prey to rapacious governors, who ſold the lands for their own profit, or gave them away to their creatures; though they could only warrant the duration of the

the ſale, or grant, during the term of their adminiſtration. The parliament of England at length remedied this evil, by ordering, that all lands ſhould be put up to auction, and the purchaſe-money paid into the public coffers. After this prudent regulation, the new plantations were as well cultivated as the old ones.

The iſland, which is in general narrow, but very unequally ſo, may have an extent of thirty-ſix leagues ſquare. Mountains, thick ſet and barren, though covered with verdure, and which occupy one third of the territory, interſect it almoſt throughout it's whole length. From the foot of theſe mountains iſſue an infinite number of ſprings, which, unfortunately, are for the moſt part dried up in the dry ſeaſons. Scattered over the plain we meet with a number of agreeable, neat, and convenient habitations, which are ornamented with avenues, fountains, and groves. The taſte for rural life, which the Engliſh have retained more than any other civilized nation in Europe, prevails in the higheſt degree at St. Chriſtopher's. They never had the leaſt occaſion to form themſelves into ſmall ſocieties, in order to paſs away the time; and if the French had not left there a ſmall town, where their manners are preſerved, they would ſtill be unacquainted with that kind of ſocial life, which is productive of more altercations than pleaſures; which is kept up by gallantry, and terminates in debauchery; which begins with convivial joys, and ends in the quarrels of gaming. Inſtead of this image of union, which is in fact only a beginning of diſ-

cord, the repreſentatives of the proprietors, who are almoſt all of them ſettled in Europe, the number of which amounts to eighteen hundred, live upon the plantations; from whence they gather by the labour of twenty-four or twenty-five thouſand ſlaves, eighteen millions weight of raw ſugar, which is the fineſt in the New World. This produce enables the colony to provide with eaſe for the public expences, which do not annually exceed 68,145 livres 10 ſols *.

Wretched cataſtrophes that have happened at St. Chriſtopher's.

It was at St. Chriſtopher's, that in 1756 was exhibited a ſcene worthy of being recounted.

A Negroe had, from his childhood, partook of the amuſements of his young maſter. This familiarity, which is commonly ſo dangerous, extended the ideas of the ſlave, without altering his character. Quazy ſoon deſerved to be choſen overſeer over the labours, and over the plantations; and he diſplayed in that important poſt an uncommon ſhare of underſtanding, and an indefatigable zeal. His conduct and his talents increaſed his favour, which appeared to be unalterably fixed, when this director, hitherto ſo much beloved and ſo much diſtinguiſhed, was ſuſpected of having infringed the eſtabliſhed laws of the police, and publicly threatened with an humiliating puniſhment.

A slave who hath for a long time eſcaped chaſtiſement, inflicted too readily and too frequently upon his equals, is infinitely jealous of that diſtinction. Quazy, who dreaded ſhame more than the grave, and who did not flatter

* 2,839 l. 7 s. 11 d.

himſel

himſelf with being able to avert the ſentence pronounced againſt him by his intreaties, went out in the midſt of the night, in order to obtain a powerful mediation. His maſter unfortunately perceived him, and attempted to ſtop him. They grappled with each other; and theſe two dexterous and vigorous champions wreſtled for ſome time with varied ſucceſs. At length the ſlave threw down his inflexible maſter, and kept him in that diſagreeable ſituation; when, putting a dagger to his breaſt, he addreſſed him in the following terms:

"MASTER, I have been brought up with you. "Your pleaſures have been mine. My heart "hath never know'n any other intereſts than "your's. I am innocent of the trifling offence "of which I am accuſed; but had I even been "guilty of it, you ought to have forgiven me. "All my ſenſes are rouzed with indignation at "the recollection of the affront which you are "preparing for me; and thus it is that I will "avoid it." On ſaying theſe words, he cut his own throat, and fell down dead, without curſing the tyrant, whom he covered with his blood.

IN the ſame iſland, love and friendſhip have been ſignalized by a tragic event, which hath never been paralleled either in fable or in hiſtory.

Two Negroes, both young, handſome, robuſt, courageous, and born with a ſoul of an uncommon caſt, had been fond of each other from their infancy. Partners in the ſame labours, they were united by their ſufferings; which, in feeling minds, form a ſtronger attachment than pleaſures. If

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they were not happy, they comforted each other at leaſt in their miſery. Love, which generally obliterates the remembrance of all misfortunes, ſerved only to make their's complete. A Negro girl, who was likewiſe a ſlave, and whoſe eyes ſparkled, no doubt, with greater vivacity and fire from the contraſt of her dark complexion, excited an equal flame in the hearts of theſe two friends. The girl, who was more capable of inſpiring than of feeling a ſtrong paſſion, would readily have accepted either; but neither of them would deprive his friend of her, or yield her up to him. Time ſerved only to increaſe the torments they ſuffered, without affecting their friendſhip or their love. Oftentimes did tears of anguiſh ſtream from their eyes, in the midſt of the demonſtrations of friendſhip they gave each other, at the ſight of the too beloved object that threw them into deſpair. They ſometimes ſwore that they would love her no more, and that they would rather part with life than forfeit their friendſhip. The whole plantation was moved at the ſight of theſe conflicts. The love of the two friends for the beautiful Negro girl was the topic of every converſation.

One day they followed her into a wood; there, each embraced her, claſped her a thouſand times to his heart, ſwore all the oaths of attachment, and called her every tender name that love could ſuggeſt; when, ſuddenly, without ſpeaking or looking at each other, they both plunged a dagger into her breaſt. She expired, and they mingled their tears and groans with her laſt breath. They

roared

roared aloud, and made the wood reſound with their violent outcries. A ſlave came running to their aſſiſtance, and ſaw them at a diſtance, ſtifling the victim of their extraordinary paſſion with their kiſſes. He called out to ſome others, who ſoon came up, and found theſe two friends embracing each other upon the body of this unhappy girl, and bathed in her blood; while they themſelves were expiring in the ſtreams that flowed from their own wounds.

These lovers and theſe friends were ſlaves. Is it in ſo degrading a ſtation, that we ſee ſuch actions as muſt aſtoniſh the whole world? If there can be a man who is not ſtruck with horror and compaſſion at the greatneſs of this ferocious love, nature muſt have formed him, not for the ſlavery of the Negroes, but for the tyranny of their maſters. Such a man muſt have lived without commiſerating others, and will die without comfort; he muſt never have ſhed a tear, and none will ever be ſhed for him.

Particularities concerning Barbuda.

Barbuda, which belongs entirely to the Codrington family, and the circumference of which is ſix or ſeven leagues, hath dangerous coaſts. This is perhaps the moſt even of all the American iſlands. The trees which cover it are weak, and not very high, becauſe there are never more than ſix or ſeven inches of earth upon a layer of lime-ſtone. Nature hath placed great plenty of turtles here; and caprice hath occaſioned the ſending thither of deer, and ſeveral kinds of game; chance hath filled the woods with pintados, and other fowls, eſcaped from the veſſels after ſome

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ſhipwreck. Upon this ſoil are fed oxen, horſes, and mules, for the labours of the neighbouring ſettlements. No other culture is know'n there, except that of the kind of corn which is neceſſary for the feeding of the numerous herds, in thoſe ſeaſons when the paſture fails. It's population is reduced to three hundred and fifty ſlaves, and to the ſmall number of free men who are appointed to overlook them. This private property pays no tribute to the nation, though it be ſubject to the tribunals of Antigua. The air here is very pure, and very wholeſome. Formerly, the ſickly people of the other Engliſh iſlands went to breathe it, in order to ſtop the progreſs of their diſeaſes, or to recover their ſtrength. This cuſtom hath ceaſed, ſince ſome of them have indulged themſelves in parties of deſtructive chace.

Must men then be ſuffered to periſh, in order that animals ſhould be preſerved! How is it poſſible that ſo atrocious a cuſtom, which draws down the imprecation of almoſt all Europe upon the ſovereigns, and upon the lords of our countries, ſhould be ſuffered, and ſhould even be eſtabliſhed beyond the ſeas? I have aſked this queſtion, and I have been anſwered, that the iſland belonged to the Codringtons; and that they had a right to diſpoſe of their property at their pleaſure. I now aſk, whether this right of property, which is undoubtedly ſacred, hath not it's limits? Whether this right, in a variety of circumſtances, be not ſacrificed to public good? Whether the man who is in poſſeſſion of a fountain, can refuſe water to him who is dying with

thirſt? Whether any of the Codrington family would partake of one of thoſe precious pintados, that had coſt his countryman or his fellow-creature his life? Whether the man who ſhould be convicted of having ſuffered a ſick perſon to die at his door, would be ſufficiently puniſhed by the general execration? And whether he would not deſerve to be dragged before the tribunals of juſtice as an aſſaſſin? Poſſeſſor of Barbuda, thou art the aſſaſſin of all thoſe whom thou doſt deprive of the ſalubrity of the air, which would have preſerved them; and if this circumſtance ſhould not drive thee to deſpair upon thy death-bed, it is becauſe thine heart will bid defiance to the Divine juſtice! Haſten, therefore, to recall that ſhameleſs repreſentative, who, in his concern for a ſeraglio of Mulattoe women, in whom, it is ſaid, all his delights are centered, rigorouſly purſues the execution of your barbarous prohibition.

The colony of Anguilla is very wretched, and it's fate cannot be changed.

ANGUILLA is ſeven or eight leagues in length, and is very unequal in it's breadth, which never exceeds two leagues. Neither mountains, nor woods, nor rivers, are found upon it, and it's ſoil is nothing more than chalk.

SOME wandering Engliſhmen ſettled upon this porous and friable rock towards the year 1650. After an obſtinate labour, they at length ſucceeded in obtaining from this kind of turf a little cotton, a ſmall quantity of millet-ſeed, and ſome potatoes. Six veins of vegetating earth, which were in proceſs of time diſcovered, received ſugar canes, which, in the beſt harveſt, yield no more than

than fifty thouſand weight of ſugar, and ſometimes only five or ſix thouſand. Whatever elſe comes out of the colony hath been introduced into it clandeſtinely, from Santa Cruz, where the inhabitants of Anguilla have formed ſeveral plantations.

In ſeaſons of drought, which are but too frequent, the iſland hath no other reſource but in a lake, the ſalt of which is ſold to the people of New England; and in the ſale of ſheep and goats, which thrive better in this dry climate, and upon theſe arid plains, than in the reſt of America.

Anguilla reckons no more than two hundred free inhabitants, and five hundred ſlaves. Nevertheleſs, it hath an aſſembly of it's own, and even a chief, who is always choſen by the inhabitants, and confirmed by the governor of Antigua. A foreigner who ſhould be ſent to govern this feeble ſettlement, would infallibly be driven away by men who have preſerved ſomething of the independent manners, and of the rather ſavage character of their anceſtors.

The coaſt of this iſland affords but two harbours; and even in theſe very ſmall veſſels only can anchor. They are both defended by four pieces of cannon, which, for half a century paſt, have been entirely unfit for ſervice.

Tortola is the only one of the Virgin Iſlands which the Engliſh have cultivated. The government cenſured.

The Virgin Iſlands are a group of about ſixty ſmall iſlands, moſt of them mountainous, dry, and arid, where the Spaniards of Porto-Rico were for a long time alone employed in catching turtle, which were very plenty there. The Dutch had juſt begun a ſmall ſettlement at Tortola,

tola, one of the beſt of theſe iſlands, and that which hath the ſafeſt harbour, when, in 1666, they were driven from it by the Engliſh; who ſoon after diſperſed themſelves over the neighbouring ſmall iſlands and rocks. There they lived, during near a century, like ſavages, employed ſolely in the culture of cotton. It was not 'till after the peace of 1748 that their induſtry was turned towards ſugar, of which they have ſince regularly ſent to the mother-country four or five millions weight.

BEFORE this period, there had not been any regular form of government, nor any public worſhip at Tortola. Both the one and the other have been very recently eſtabliſhed; and what perhaps was more difficult to bring about, the inhabitants have been prevailed upon to pay the treaſury four and a half per cent. on the going out of their productions. A prudent adminiſtration would have ſolicited a bill to ſecure the ſeveral properties, all, or almoſt all, of which have been tranſmitted in an irregular manner; and if they were juridically attacked, there are few coloniſts who might not be legally ruined.

HERE then is an inſtance, at Tortola, of the government being very eager to draw money from the coloniſts, and caring very little about ſecuring their felicity, although it would have coſt them only a little benevolence, without any kind of ſacrifice. Is it poſſible to ſay to men in a more impudent manner: "You are nothing to us: "you have only to continue ſtill to pay us, and "when you ſhall no longer be able to do it, you "may

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"may periſh, you may die; we care very little "about the matter. The concern we take in "your fate is in proportion to the ſums you ſup-"ply us with?" Such inhuman ſentiments are never uttered in any place; but ſtill this is the way in which people think and act in all parts. Subjects are every where treated as we do the mines, which we ceaſe to attend to when they yield no more ore. It is every where forgotten, that, with a ſmall ſhare of juſtice and protection, they would become an inexhauſtible fund. Empires in all parts think themſelves eternal, and thoſe who govern them conduct themſelves as if they had not one day to laſt. The ſame danger that threatens Tortola, does not extend itſelf to Jamaica.

Deſcription of Jamaica.

THIS iſland, which lies to leeward of the other Engliſh iſlands, and which geographers have ranked among the greater Antilles, may be forty-three or forty-four leagues in length, and ſixteen or ſeventeen in it's greateſt breadth. It is interſected with ſeveral ridges of high, craggy mountains, where dreadful rocks are heaped one upon another. Their barrenneſs does not prevent their being covered all over with a prodigious quantity of trees of different kinds, that ſtrike their roots through the clefts of the rocks, and attract the moiſture that is depoſited there by ſtorms and frequent fogs. This perpetual verdure, kept up and embelliſhed by a multitude of plentiful caſcades, makes a conſtant ſpring all the year round, and exhibits the moſt enchanting proſpect in nature. But theſe waters, which fall from the bar-

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ren ſummits, and fertilize the plains below, are brackiſh and unwholeſome. The climate is ſtill more dangerous. Of all the American iſlands, Jamaica is the moſt deſtructive. Men periſh there very rapidly; and although the lands have been cleared for two centuries paſt, yet there are ſtill ſome very fruitful diſtricts, even near the capital, where a free man would not paſs the night unleſs in a caſe of extreme neceſſity.

The Spaniards diſcover Jamaica, and ſettle there ſome time after.

COLUMBUS diſcovered this great iſland in 1494, but made no ſettlement there. Eight years after, he was throw'n upon it by a ſtorm. Having loſt his ſhips, and being unable to get away, he implored the humanity of the ſavages, who gave him all the aſſiſtance that natural pity ſuggeſts. But theſe people, who cultivated no more land than what was juſt ſufficient to ſupply their own wants, ſoon grew tired of ſupporting ſtrangers, to the manifeſt riſk of ſtarving themſelves, and inſenſibly withdrew from their neighbourhood. The Spaniards, who had already indiſpoſed the Indians againſt them by repeated acts of violence, grew outrageous, and proceeded ſo far as to take up arms againſt a humane and equitable chief, becauſe he diſapproved of their ferocity. Columbus availed himſelf of one of thoſe natural phænomena, in which a man of genius may ſometimes find a reſource, which he may be excuſed for having recourſe to in a caſe of urgent neceſſity.

FROM the knowlege he had acquired in aſtronomy, he knew there would ſoon be an eclipſe of the moon. He took advantage of this circumſtance, and

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and ſummoned all the Caciques in the neighbourhood to come and hear ſomething that nearly concerned them, and was eſſential to their preſervation. He then pronounced with emphaſis, as if he were inſpired: *To puniſh you for the cruelty with which you ſuffer my companions and me to periſh, the God whom I worſhip is going to ſtrike you with his moſt terrible judgments. This very evening you will ſee the moon turn red, then grow dark, and withhold her light from you. This will be only a prelude to your calamities, if you obſtinately perſiſt in refuſing to give us food.*

The admiral had ſcarce done ſpeaking, when his prophecies were fulfilled. The ſavages were terrified beyond meaſure; they thought they were all loſt; they begged for mercy, and promiſed to do any thing that ſhould be deſired. They were then told, that heaven, moved with their repentance, was appeaſed, and that nature was going to reſume her wonted courſe. From that moment, proviſions were ſent in from all quarters; and Columbus was never in want of any during the time he remained there.

It was Don Diego, the ſon of this extraordinary man, who fixed the Spaniards at Jamaica. In 1509, he ſent thither ſeventy robbers from St. Domingo, under the command of John d'Eſquimel; and others ſoon followed. It ſeemed as if they all went over to this peaceable iſland, for no other purpoſe than to ſhed human blood. Thoſe barbarians never ſheathed their ſword while there was one inhabitant left to preſerve the memory of a numerous, mild, plain, and hoſpitable

table people. It was happy for the earth that theſe murderers were not to ſupply their place. They had no inclination to multiply in an iſland where no gold was to be found. Their cruelty did not anſwer the purpoſe of their avarice; and the earth, which they had drenched with blood, ſeemed to refuſe her aſſiſtance to ſecond the barbarous efforts they had made to fix there. Every ſettlement raiſed upon the aſhes of the natives grew unſucceſsful, when labour and deſpair had completed the deſtruction of a few ſavages who had eſcaped the fury of the firſt conqueſts. That of St. Jago de la Vega was the only one that ſupported itſelf. The inhabitants of that town, plunged in idleneſs, the uſual conſequence of tyranny after devaſtation, were content with living upon the produce of ſome few plantations, and the overplus they ſold to the ſhips that paſſed by their coaſts. The whole population of the colony centered in the little ſpot that fed this race of deſtroyers, conſiſted of 1500 ſlaves, commanded by as many tyrants, when the Engliſh came and attacked the town, took it, and ſettled there in 1655.

Jamaica is conquered by the Engliſh. Events that have happened in the iſland ſince they have become maſters of it.

THE Engliſh brought the fatal ſources of diſcord along with them. At firſt the New colony was only inhabited by three thouſand of that fanatical militia, which had fought and conquered under the ſtandards of the republican party. Theſe were ſoon followed by a multitude of royaliſts, who were in hopes of finding reſt and peace in America, or comfort after their defeat. The diviſions which had prevailed for ſo long a time,

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time, and with ſo much violence, between the two parties in Europe, followed them beyond the ſeas. This was ſufficient to have renewed in America, the ſcenes of horror and bloodſhed which had ſo often been acted in England, had not Pen and Venables, the conquerors of Jamaica, given the command of the iſland to the moſt prudent man among them, who happened to be the oldeſt officer. This was Dudley, who, although he had ſubmitted to the authority of a conquering fellow-citizen, had not yet loſt any of his attachment to the Stuarts. Twice did Cromwell, who had diſcovered his ſecret ſentiments, appoint ſome of his own party in his ſtead, and Dudley was as often reſtored to his office by the death of his opponents.

THE conſpiracies that were forming againſt him were diſcovered and fruſtrated. He never ſuffered the ſmalleſt breach of diſcipline to go unpuniſhed; and always kept the balance even between the faction his heart deteſted, and the party he was attached to. He excited induſtry; and encouraged it by his attention, his advice, and his example. His authority was enforced by his diſintereſted behaviour. He never could be prevailed upon to accept of a ſalary, being content to live upon the produce of his own plantations. In private life, he was plain and familiar; in office, an intrepid warrior, a ſteady and ſtrict commander, and a wiſe politician. His manner of governing was altogether military, becauſe he was obliged to reſtrain or to regulate an infant colony, wholly compoſed of ſoldiers; and to pre-

vent

vent and repulſe any invaſion from the Spaniards, who might attempt to recover what they had loſt.

But when Charles II. was called to the crown, by the nation that had deprived his father of it, a form of civil government was eſtabliſhed at Jamaica, modelled, like thoſe of the other iſlands, upon that of the mother-country. It was not, however, till the year 1682, that the code of laws was draw'n up, which to this day preſerves the colony in all it's vigour. Three of theſe wiſe ſtatutes merit the attention of our political readers.

The deſign of the firſt is to excite the citizens to the defence of their country, without prejudice to their private fortunes; which might otherwiſe divert them from attending to it. It enacts, that whatever miſchief is done by the enemy, ſhall be immediately made good by the ſtate; or at the expence of all the ſubjects, if the money found in the treaſury ſhould prove inſufficient.

Another law concerns the means of increaſing population. It enacts, that every ſhip-captain who brings a man into the colony, who is unable to pay for his paſſage, ſhall receive a general gratuity of 22 livres 10 ſols *. The particular gratuity is 168 livres 15 ſols † for every perſon brought from England or Scotland; 135 livres ‡ for every perſon brought from Ireland; 78 livres 15 ſols § for every perſon brought from

* 18 s. 9 d.
† About 7 l.
‡ 5 l. 11 s. 6 d.
§ About 3 l. 5 s. 7 d.

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the continent of America; and 45 livres * for every perſon brought from the other iſlands.

THE third law tends to the encouragement of agriculture. When a proprietor of land is unable to pay either the intereſt or capital of the money he has borrowed, his plantation is ſold at a price fixed by twelve planters. The value of the plantation, whatever it may be, frees the debtor entirely from any further obligation; but if it ſhould exceed his debt, the overplus muſt be returned to him. This regulation, though it may be thought partial, yet it hath the merit of abating the rigour of the landlord's and merchant's law-ſuits againſt the planter. It is to the advantage of the ſoil, and of mankind in general. The creditor is ſeldom a ſufferer by it, becauſe he is upon his guard; and the debtor is more obliged to be vigilant and honeſt, if he means to find credit. Confidence then becomes the baſis of all agreements; and confidence is only to be gained by the practice of virtue.

TIME hath produced other regulations. It was perceived that the Jews, ſettled in great numbers in Jamaica, made a jeſt of deceiving the tribunals of juſtice. A magiſtrate imagined that this evil might ariſe from the circumſtance of the bible, which was preſented to them, being in Engliſh. It was determined that they ſhould take their oath in future upon the Hebrew text; and after this precaution, perjuries became infinitely leſs frequent.

* 11. 17s. 6d.

IN

In 1761 it was decided, that every man who was not a white man, could not inherit more than 13,629 livres 3 ſols 4 deniers *. This ſtatute was diſpleaſing to ſeveral members of the Aſſembly, who were incenſed at the circumſtance of depriving affectionate fathers of the ſatisfaction of leaving a fortune, purchaſed by long labours, to their beloved poſterity, becauſe they were not of the ſame colour. Diſputes aroſe, and the parliament of England took part in them. One of the moſt celebrated orators in the Houſe of Commons declared openly againſt the Negroes. His opinion was, that they were a ſet of vile beings, of a ſpecies different from our's. The teſtimony of Monteſquieu, was the ſtrongeſt of his arguments, and he read with confidence the ironical chapter of laws upon ſlavery. None of his hearers ſuſpected the real views of ſo judicious a writer, and his authority influenced the whole Britiſh ſenate.

The whole Britiſh ſenate! The whole legiſlative body, aſſembled to diſcuſs the intereſts of the nation, and to determine gravely upon a motion, which, from it's injuſtice and unreaſonableneſs, deſerved only to be rejected with contempt! And wherefore ſhould it not have been determined, that the Blacks ſhould be entirely diſinherited? If their colour gave a ſanction to deprive them of a portion of their fathers' fortunes, why not equally to deprive them of the whole? Opinions ſo palpably abſurd, ſhould have

* About 567 l. 17 s. 7½ d.

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been combated by ridicule, and not by arguments: and if even, contrary to all probability, this had been the ſentiment of Monteſquieu, of what avail would his authority have been? The Engliſh ſhould at leaſt have made themſelves certain of the true meaning of the author.

THE Bill was going to be extended to the Indians, when one man, leſs blinded than the reſt, obſerved, that it would be a horrible piece of injuſtice to confound the antient proprietors of the iſland with the Africans; and that, moreover, there were not above five or ſix families of the former remaining.

THE colony had already acquired ſome degree of fame before theſe laws had been made. Some adventurers, as well from hatred and national jealouſy, as from a reſtleſs diſpoſition and want of fortune, attacked the Spaniſh ſhips. Theſe pirates were ſeconded by Cromwell's ſoldiers, who, retaining nothing after his death, except that public averſion which their former ſucceſſes had draw'n upon them, went into America in queſt of promotion, which they could never expect in Europe. Theſe were joined by a multitude of Engliſhmen of both parties, accuſtomed to blood by the civil wars which had ruined them. Theſe men, eager for rapine and carnage, plundered the ſeas, and ravaged the coaſts of America. Jamaica was the place where the ſpoils of Mexico and Peru were always brought by the Engliſh, and frequently by foreigners. They found in this iſland more eaſe, a better reception, protection, and freedom, than any where elſe, whether for landing, or for

ſpending,

ſpending, as they choſe, the ſpoils ariſing from their plunder. Here extravagance and debauchery ſoon plunged them again into indigence. This only incitement to their ſanguinary induſtry, made them haſten to commit freſh depredations. Thus the colony reaped the benefit of their perpetual viciſſitudes of fortune, and enriched itſelf by the vices which were both the ſource and the ruin of their wealth.

When this deſtructive race became extinct, by reaſon of the frequency of the murders they committed, the funds they had left behind, and which, indeed, had been taken from uſurpers ſtill more unjuſt and cruel than themſelves, proved a freſh ſource of opulence, by facilitating the means of opening a clandeſtine trade with the Spaniſh ſettlements. This vein of riches, which had been opened about the year 1672, gradually increaſed, and with great rapidity, towards the end of the century. Some Portugueze, with a capital of three millions *, of which the ſovereign had advanced two-thirds, engaged, in 1696, to furniſh the ſubjects of the court of Madrid with five thouſand Blacks, each of the five years that their treaty was to laſt. This Company drew a great many of thoſe ſlaves from Jamaica. From that time the coloniſts had conſtant connections with Mexico and Peru, either by means of the Portugueze agents, or by the captains of their own ſhips employed in this trade. But this intercourſe was ſomewhat ſlackened by the war, which broke

* 125,000l.

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out on account of the ſucceſſion to the throne of Spain.

At the peace, the Aſſiento treaty alarmed the people of Jamaica. They were afraid that the South-Sea Company, which was appointed to furniſh the Spaniſh colonies with Negroes, would entirely exclude them from all acceſs to the gold mines. All the efforts they made to break this regulation, could not produce any alteration in the meaſures of the Engliſh miniſtry. They wiſely foreſaw that the activity of the Aſſientiſts would prove a freſh motive of emulation for increaſing the contraband trade formerly carried on; and theſe views were found to be juſt.

The illicit trade of Jamaica was carried on in a very ſimple manner. An Engliſh veſſel pretended to be in want of water, wood, or proviſions; that her maſt was broken, or that ſhe had ſprung a leak, which could not be diſcovered or ſtopped without unloading. The governor permitted the ſhip to come into the harbour to refit. But, for form ſake, and to exculpate himſelf to his court, he ordered a ſeal to be affixed to the door of the warehouſe where the goods were depoſited; while another door was left unſealed, through which the merchandize that was exchanged in this trade was carried in and out by ſtealth. When the whole tranſaction was ended, the ſtranger, who was always in want of money, requeſted that he might be permitted to ſell as much as would pay his charges; and it would have been too cruel to refuſe this permiſſion. It was neceſſary that the governor, or his agents, might

might ſafely diſpoſe in public of what they had previouſly bought in ſecret; as it would always be taken for granted, that what they ſold could be no other than the goods that were allowed to be bought. In this manner were the greateſt cargoes diſpoſed of.

The court of Madrid thought to put a ſtop to theſe practices, by prohibiting the admiſſion of all foreign ſhips into the Spaniſh harbours, on any pretence whatever. But the people of Jamaica calling in force to the aſſiſtance of artifice, ſupported themſelves in this trade under the protection of the Engliſh men of war, by allowing them five per cent. upon every article, to the fraudulent introduction of which they gave a ſanction.

To this open violation of public order, ſucceeded a more private and leſs alarming one. The ſhips diſpatched from Jamaica repaired to thoſe ports of the Spaniſh coaſt which were leaſt frequented; eſpecially to that of Brew, five miles from Carthagena; and to that of Grout, four miles from Porto-Bello. A man who ſpoke the language of the country was immediately put aſhore, to give notice in the adjacent country of the arrival of the ſhips. The intelligence was propagated with amazing ſpeed to the moſt diſtant parts; the merchants haſtened to the place, and the trade began; but with ſuch precautions as experience had taught them. The ſhip's company was divided into three parties. While the firſt was entertaining the purchaſers, and treating them with great civilities, at the ſame time keeping a watchful eye to prevent them

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from exerciſing their inclination and dexterity in ſtealing; the ſecond was employed in receiving the vanilla, indigo, cochineal, gold and ſilver of the Spaniards, in exchange for ſlaves, quickſilver, ſilks, and other commodities. The third diviſion was, in the mean while, under arms upon deck, to provide for the ſafety of the ſhip; and to take care not to admit at once a greater number of men than could be kept in order.

When the tranſactions were finiſhed, the Engliſhman returned with his ſtock, which he had commonly doubled; and the Spaniard with his purchaſe, of which he hoped to make as great a profit, or greater. To prevent a diſcovery, he avoided the high-roads, and went through by-ways, with the Negroes he had bought, who were loaded with the merchandize, which was divided into parcels of a convenient form and weight for carriage.

This manner of trading had been carried on ſucceſsfully for a long time, to the great emolument of the colonies of both nations; when, as Spain intended, it was greatly obſtructed by ſubſtituting regiſter-ſhips to the galleons. It has gradually diminiſhed, and of late years was reduced to a very low ebb. The Britiſh miniſtry, wiſhing to revive it, judged, in 1766, that the beſt expedient to repair the loſſes of Jamaica, was to make it a free port.

Immediately the Spaniſh ſhips in America flocked thither from all parts, to exchange their gold and ſilver, and their commodities, for the manufactures of England. This eagerneſs was attended

attended with this convenience, that the profit, of which it was the ſource, was acquired without riſque, and could not occaſion any diſputes: but it was to be expected, that the court of Madrid would ſoon put a ſtop to an intercourſe ſo prejudicial to their intereſts. This was the opinion of Great Britain; and in order to preſerve the riches of the neighbouring continent, they laid the foundation of a colony upon the Moſquito coaſts.

Cultures eſtabliſhed at Jamaica.

WHATEVER may one day be the fate of this new ſettlement, it is certain that the attention of Jamaica was for too long a time, and too much engaged in a ſmuggling trade, while it's cultures were too much neglected. The firſt of theſe which the Engliſh devoted themſelves to, was that of cocoa, which they found eſtabliſhed by the Spaniards. It proſpered as long as thoſe plantations laſted; which had been cultivated by a people who made this their principal food, and their only traffic. The trees grew old, and it became neceſſary to renew them; but, either for want of care, or of ſkill, they did not ſucceed. Indigo was ſubſtituted to them.

THIS production was increaſing conſiderably, when the parliament laid a duty upon it which it was not able to bear, and which occaſioned the fall of this culture in Jamaica, as well as in the other Engliſh iſlands. This imprudent tax hath been ſince ſuppreſſed, and even the encouragement of gratifications hath been ſubſtituted to it; but this tardy generoſity hath only occaſioned abuſes. In order to obtain the bounty, the Jamaica

maica people contracted the habit of procuring this valuable dye from St. Domingo, and of introducing it into Great Britain as the growth of their own plantations.

The expence the government is at on this account, cannot be looked upon entirely as a loſs, ſince it is of uſe to the nation. But it keeps up that miſtruſt, and we may ſay, that propenſity to fraud, which the ſpirit of finance has given riſe to in all our modern forms of legiſlation, between the ſtate and the citizens. Ever ſince the magiſtrate has been inceſſantly contriving means to appropriate to himſelf the money of the people, theſe have been ſtudying artifices to elude the avidity of the magiſtrates. When there has been on one ſide no moderation in the expences, no limit to taxations, no equity in the repartition, no lenity in the recovery, there have been no longer any ſcruples about the violation of pecuniary laws on the other, nor any honeſty in the payment of the duties, nor probity in the engagements of the ſubject with the prince. Oppreſſion hath prevailed on one hand, and plunder on the other; the finance hath extorted from commerce, and commerce hath eluded or defrauded the finance. The treaſury hath pillaged the planters, and the planters have impoſed upon the treaſury by falſe entries. Such are the manners of both hemiſpheres.

In the New one there ſtill exiſted a few plantations of indigo at Jamaica, when the culture of cotton began to be attended to. This production had a rapid ſucceſs, which continued, be-

cauſe

cauſe it was advantageouſly, and without delay diſpoſed of in England, where it was manufactured with a degree of dexterity which hath been rather imitated than equalled by the rival nations.

GINGER hath been leſs uſeful to the colony. The ſavages who were found by the Europeans in the American iſlands, moſt generally made uſe of it; but their conſumption in this, as in every other article, was ſo ſmall, that nature afforded them a ſufficient quantity without the aſſiſtance of cultivation. The uſurpers grew paſſionately fond of this ſpice; they ate it in the morning to ſharpen their appetite; they ſerved it up at table preſerved in ſeveral different ways; they uſed it after meals to facilitate digeſtion, and at ſea as an antidote againſt the ſcurvy. The Old World adopted the taſte of the New, and this laſted till the price of pepper, which had for a long while been extremely high, was reduced. Ginger then fell into a kind of contempt, and it's culture was dropped almoſt every where except at Jamaica.

THIS iſland produces and ſells another ſpice, improperly called Jamaica pepper. The tree which bears it is a kind of myrtle, which commonly grows upon the mountains, and riſes to the height of more than thirty feet. It is very ſtraight, moderately thick, and covered with a greyiſh, ſmooth, and ſhining bark. It's leaves, which have a pleaſant ſmell, reſemble in form and diſpoſition thoſe of the laurel, and the branches are terminated by cluſters of flowers entirely ſimilar

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to thoſe of the common myrtle. The fruit by which they are ſucceeded is a ſmall berry, ſomewhat larger than that of the juniper. Theſe berries are gathered green and ſpread in the ſun to dry. They turn brown and acquire a ſpicy ſmell, which in England hath given the name of *all-ſpice* to this pimento. It is very uſeful to ſtrengthen cold ſtomachs; but what is this advantage compared with all thoſe that are obtained from ſugar?

THE art of managing this culture was unknow'n in Jamaica till the year 1668. It was brought thither by ſome inhabitants of Barbadoes. One of them was poſſeſſed of every requiſite for that kind of produce that depends on man. His name was Thomas Modiford. His capital, together with his ſkill and activity, enabled him to clear an immenſe tract of land, and raiſed him in time to the government of the colony; yet neither could the view of his fortune, nor his urgent ſolicitations prevail upon men, who were moſt of them accuſtomed to the idleneſs of a military life, to apply to the labours of cultivation. Twelve hundred unfortunate men, who arrived in 1760 from Surinam, which had juſt been ceded to the Dutch, proved more tractable. Neceſſity inſpired them with reſolution, and their example excited emulation, which was kept up by the quantity of money conſtantly poured into the iſland by the Free-booters. Great part of it was employed in erecting buildings, purchaſing ſlaves, implements of huſbandry, and furniture neceſſary for the riſing plantations. In proceſs of time,

time, Jamaica exported great quantities of ſugar, of an inferior kind, indeed, to that which was made in moſt of the other colonies, but the rum of which was exceedingly ſuperior.

The coffee-tree proſpered in the Dutch and French ſettlements in the New World, before the Engliſh thought of appropiating it to themſelves; and indeed Jamaica was the only Britiſh iſland which thought proper to adopt it, but it never carried the cultivation of it as far as the rival nations.

It was a generally received opinion in 1756, that Jamaica had attained the greateſt degree of proſperity of which it was ſuſceptible. An iſland, inhabited during a whole century by an active and enlightened people, into which the riches of Mexico and Peru had been conveyed without interruption, by piracy, and by a fraudulent commerce, and in which no circumſtance neceſſary for cultivation had ever been wanting: an iſland, to which navigators muſt have been conſtantly attracted, by the ſafety of the coaſts, and by the excellence of the harbours; and the productions of which had always been in great requeſt throughout all Europe: ſuch a ſettlement muſt have appeared, even to the moſt thinking perſons, to have made all the progreſs of which nature had rendered it ſuſceptible.

This illuſion, ſo reaſonably adopted, was diſſipated by a war, which will for ever render this period memorable. A calamity, which ſometimes overturns ſtates, and always exhauſts them, became a ſource of wealth to Jamaica. The

Engliſh

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Engliſh merchants, enriched with the ſpoils of an enemy, conquered and fugitive on all ſides, found themſelves enabled to advance conſiderable ſums, and to grant a long credit to the planters. The coloniſts themſelves, animated by the diſcouragement of the French coloniſts, whoſe labours had 'till that time been ſo fortunate, eagerly availed themſelves of the means which were put in their hands by theſe unexpected events. Peace did not check the impulſe they had received. This rapid increaſe of activity hath continued, and the productions of the colony are nearly one third more conſiderable than they were thirty years ago.

Preſent ſtate of Jamaica, conſidered in every point of view.

The whole iſland may contain about three millions eight hundred thouſand acres of land, of which, according to the information of a judicious and ſtudious man, who hath for a long time governed the colony, one million ſeven hundred twenty-eight thouſand four hundred and thirty-one acres are taken up by mountains, rocks, lakes, moraſſes, rivers, and other places, which are unavoidably loſt to the purpoſes of every uſeful labour. Government hath ſucceſſively granted one million ſix hundred and ſeventy-one thouſand five hundred and ſixty-nine acres, which are cleared, or capable of being ſo. There ſtill remain four hundred thouſand to be diſpoſed of, which want nothing but men and means to cultivate them.

In 1658 Jamaica reckoned four thouſand five hundred white perſons, and fourteen hundred ſlaves; in 1670, ſeven thouſand five hundred white

white men, and eight thouſand ſlaves; in 1734, ſeven thouſand ſix hundred and forty-four white men, and eighty-ſix thouſand five hundred and forty-ſix ſlaves; in 1746, ten thouſand white men, and one hundred and twelve thouſand four hundred and twenty-eight ſlaves; in 1768, ſeventeen thouſand nine hundred and forty-ſeven white men, and one hundred and ſixty-ſix thouſand nine hundred and fourteen ſlaves; in 1775, eighteen thouſand five hundred white perſons, three thouſand ſeven hundred blacks, or free Mulattoes, and one hundred and ninety thouſand nine hundred and fourteen ſlaves. One hundred and ten thouſand of theſe unfortunate people are placed on ſix hundred and fourſcore ſugar plantations; the remainder is employed in leſs valuable cultures, carried on in fourteen hundred and ſixty habitations, in navigation, in domeſtic ſervices, and in other labours of primary neceſſity.

THE public expences of the colony amount annually to 817,750 livres *. Theſe expences are ſupplied by duties upon houſes, upon the ſeveral productions of the ſoil, upon foreign liquors, and by a poll-tax upon the Negroes, which, in extraordinary caſes, is doubled. The perſons appointed, in the nineteen pariſhes, to levy theſe taxes, which are decreed by the general aſſembly, have obtained two and a half per cent. as a reward for their trouble; and the receiver-general retains five per cent. for himſelf.

* 34,073 l. 8 s. 4 d.

THE ſpecie which is commonly circulated in the iſland doth not exceed 954,041 livres*. This is more than ſufficient, ſince it is only uſed in the more minute details of trade. The ſlaves brought from Africa, the merchandiſe ſent from Europe, all things which are of great value, are paid by bills of exchange payable in London, or in ſome other Britiſh port, where the coloniſts ſend their commodities on their own account.

THE profit ariſing from theſe productions is not deſtined entirely for the inceſſant wants of Jamaica. A great part of it is intended for the diſcharge of the debts, which an immoderate luxury, and accumulated misfortunes, have obliged the inhabitants ſucceſſively to contract. Theſe engagements, as far as we can judge of them, amount to two-thirds of the apparent riches of the colony. The greateſt number of the creditors are ſettled in England; the others are merchants temporarily ſettled in the iſland, among whom are reckoned a great many Jews. May theſe people, who were ſlaves at firſt, afterwards conquerors, and then diſgraced for the ſpace of twenty centuries, one day attain the legal poſſeſſion of Jamaica, or of ſome other rich iſland in the New World! May they collect all their children there, and bring them up in peace to culture and commerce, ſheltered from that fanaticiſm which rendered them odious to the world, and from that perſecution which hath puniſhed their errors with too much rigour!

* 39,751 l. 14s. 2d.

May

May the Jews live free, unmoleſted, and happy, in ſome corner of the world; ſince, by the ties of humanity, they are our brethren, and our fathers in the tenets of religion.

THE colony, at preſent, ſends annually to the mother-country eight hundred thouſand quintals of ſugar, which, at the rate of 40 livres * the quintal, produce 32,000,000 livres †; four million gallons of rum, which, at the rate of 1 livre 10 ſols ‡ the gallon, produce 6,000,000 livres ‖; three hundred thouſand gallons of molaſſes, which, at the rate of 10 ſols § the gallon, produce 150,000 livres ¶; ſix thouſand quintals of cotton, which, at the rate of 150 livres ** the quintal, produce 900,000 livres ††; ſix thouſand quintals of pimento, which, at the rate of 42 livres ‡‡ the quintal, produce 252,000 livres ‖‖; eighteen thouſand quintals of coffee, which, at the rate of 50 livres §§ the quintal, produce 900,000 livres ¶¶; three thouſand quintals of ginger, which, at the rate of 70 livres *** the quintal, produce 210,000 livres †††; and to the amount of 400,000 livres ‡‡‡ in wood for inlaying. All theſe ſums united, make the produce of Jamaica amount to 40,812,000 livres ‖‖‖.

* 1 l. 13 s. 4 d.
‡ 1 s. 3 d.
§ 5 d.
** 6 l. 5 s.
‡‡ 1 l. 6 s. 8 d.
§§ 2 l. 1 s. 8 d.
*** 2 l. 18 s. 4 d.
‡‡‡ 16,666 l. 13 s. 4 d.

† 1,333,333 l. 6 s. 8 d.
‖ 250,000 l.
¶ 6,250 l.
†† 37,500 l.
‖‖ 10,500 l.
¶¶ 37,500 l.
††† 8,750 l.
‖‖‖ 1,700,500 l.

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THE veſſels deſtined for their exportation are very numerous, but are only of the burthen of one hundred and fifty, or two hundred tons.

A SMALL number of theſe veſſels take up their cargoes at the harbour of Morant Point, which might be conſidered as a good harbour, were it more eaſy of acceſs. This road, ſituated in the ſouthern part of the iſland, is only defended by an ill-conſtructed battery, improperly placed. Twelve men, commanded by a ſerjeant, are continually on guard there. Not far off is a bay of the ſame name, more convenient, and more frequented by navigators.

THE coaſt affords no other anchorage, unleſs for very ſmall boats, 'till the ſhips arrive at Port Royal, where half of the productions of the colony deſtined for Europe are embarked.

AT a greater diſtance is the old harbour, which is commonly well frequented. The neighbouring planters have often reſolved to conſtruct ſome works there, to protect the veſſels which may take in their cargoes at this place, againſt ſmall privateers. This expenſive project appears to be entirely laid aſide. It hath been at length underſtood that the difficulty of entrance would always be the beſt defence.

THE bay of the Black River would require a good battery. It might be erected without much expence, and would inſure the ſafety of a great number of ſmall ſhips that frequent it.

SAVANNA LA MAR hath never much water, and it's entrance is every where embarraſſed with ſhoals and ſunken rocks. It is the worſt har-

bour of the colony; and yet it is become the ſtaple of a conſiderable trade, ſince the neighbouring territory hath been cleared. Formerly, it's inhabitants were deſirous of ſurrounding themſelves with fortifications. Theſe works were forſaken, after more than one thouſand crowns* had been expended upon them. Nothing remains of theſe labours but a heap of ruins.

The iſland hath upon it's weſtern coaſt, which is very narrow, only one harbour, and that is Port Orange, where ſeven or eight veſſels take in their cargoes annually.

The firſt harbour to the North, is that of St. Lucia. It is ſpacious and ſafe, and defended by a fort, capable of making ſome reſiſtance, if it were repaired, and if the artillery were put into a ſtate fit for ſervice. A ſmall garriſon is always kept there.

Eight or nine leagues further, is the excellent bay of Montego. The fifth part of the productions of the colony is embarked in the ſmall town of Barnet-town, defended by a battery of ten guns.

The entrance of Port St. Ann is rendered difficult by ſhoals. It ſcarce receives annually fifteen or ſixteen veſſels.

Port Antonio is one of the ſafeſt harbours, but not one of the moſt frequented, of the iſland. It's fort is guarded by a detachment, commanded by an officer.

* 12,500 l.

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THE eaſtern coaſt hath no other harbour than the Manchineel. It's anchorage is good, but in the neighbouring latitudes the ſea is always violently agitated by the eaſterly winds. This is the ſpot moſt expoſed to invaſions, and the battery of ten guns, which hath been conſtructed there, would not ſhelter it from danger, if it's riches were more conſiderable. The whole defence of the colony is properly fixed at Port Royal.

Means which Jamaica hath to preſerve herſelf from invaſion.

THE Engliſh had no ſooner made themſelves maſters of Jamaica, than they attended to the rendering of this conqueſt uſeful, and to the ſecuring of the poſſeſſion of it. The cultures undertaken by the Spaniards, and the advantages of a ſafe, immenſe, and convenient harbour, prudently inclined them to fix their views upon Port Royal. The town they built there, though placed in the midſt of ſands, upon a very narrow neck of land, though deprived by nature of water fit for drinking, and of all the other ſupports of life, became a famous city in leſs than thirty years.

THIS ſplendour was owen to a conſtant and quick circulation of trade, formed by the commodities of the iſland, the captures of the freebooters, and the trade opened with the neighbouring continent. There have been few ſtaples upon the face of the globe, where the thirſt of wealth and pleaſure had united more opulence and more corruption.

ONE moment deſtroyed, on the 27th of June 1692, this beautiful appearance. The ſky, which was

was clear and ſerene, grew obſcured and red throughout the whole extent of Jamaica. A rumbling noiſe was hear'd under ground, ſpreading from the mountains to the plain; the rocks were ſplit; hills came cloſe together; infectious lakes appeared on the ſpots where whole mountains had been ſwallowed up; immenſe foreſts were removed ſeveral miles from the place where they ſtood; the edifices diſappeared, being either ſunk into the caverns of the earth, or overturned. Thirteen thouſand lives were loſt by this dreadful earthquake, and three thouſand by a contagious diſtemper that broke out ſoon after. It is ſaid, that ſince this cataſtrophe, the climate is not ſo fine, the air not ſo pure, nor the ſoil ſo fruitful, as it was before. This terrible phœnomenon ſhould have taught the Europeans not to truſt to the poſſeſſion of a world that trembles under their feet, and ſeems to ſlip out of their rapacious hands.

In this general overthrow, Port Royal beheld buried in the incenſed waves, or throw'n at a diſtance upon deſolate coaſts, the numerous ſhips, the proud flags of which rendered her ſo vain. The city itſelf was deſtroyed and overflow'n. In vain was it attempted to rebuild the town upon it's ruins; theſe labours were all fruitleſs. The riſing walls were again blow'n down by a hurricane. Port Royal, like Jeruſalem, could never be rebuilt. The earth ſeemed only digged to ſwallow it up anew. By a ſingularity which baffles all human efforts and reaſonings to account for, the only houſes that were left ſtanding, after this

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freſh ſubverſion, were ſituated at the extremity of a point of land extremely narrow, which advances ſeveral miles in the ſea; as if the inconſtant ocean had afforded a ſolid foundation to edifices which the firm ground ſeemed to caſt off.

The inhabitants of Port Royal, diſcouraged by theſe repeated calamities, retired to Kingſton, which is ſituated in the ſame bay. By their induſtry and activity, this town, which till then had been obſcure, ſoon became a pleaſant and flouriſhing city. Trade is even gradually become more animated here, than it ever was at any period in any of the marts to which it hath ſucceeded; becauſe the colony hath gained more by the increaſe of it's cultures, than it hath loſt by the decreaſe of it's ſmuggling trade.

Yet Port Royal had never been, and Kingſton did not become, the capital of the iſland. St. Yago de la Vega, which the Engliſh have named Spaniſh town, continued ſtill to enjoy this uſeful prerogative. This town, built by the Spaniards, at the diſtance of ſome leagues from the ſea, upon the river Cobra, the moſt conſiderable one of the country, though not navigable, was the ſeat of the legiſlative body, the reſidence of the governor-general, the place where the courts of juſtice were holden, and, conſequently, that where the richeſt planters dwelt.

Admiral Knowles judged that this arrangement was contrary to the public good; and in 1756, he cauſed it to be decided by the general aſſembly, that all the affairs, and all the powers of adminiſtration, ſhould be united at Kingſton.

Perſonal

Perſonal hatred againſt the projector of this plan; the harſhneſs of the meaſures he employed to carry it into execution; the attachment moſt people are apt to take for places as well as things; numberleſs private intereſts that muſt neceſſarily be affected by this alteration: all theſe cauſes raiſed in the minds of ſeveral of the coloniſts, unſurmountable objections to a plan, which was indeed liable to ſome inconveniences, but which was founded on unanſwerable reaſons, and offered great advantages. The obſtacles with which the opponents embarraſſed the new ſyſtem, did not put a ſtop to the meaſures of government. This was even the time they choſe for repairing Fort Charles, which ſerves as a citadel to Port Royal, and for increaſing, on the other ſide of the bay, the very well executed fortifications of Moſquito Point, which command the canal through which the veſſels deſtined for Kingſton muſt paſs. If, inſtead of entering the bay, the enemy ſhould wiſh to land to the north of the new capital, they would be ſtopped in their march by Zock, a fort conſtructed with ſkill, and maintained with care, in a very narrow defile, at the diſtance of a league from the city. Among theſe different works, and in ſome other leſs important poſts, two regiments are uſually diſtributed. They receive pay from the mother-country: but the colony adds to it a daily gratuity of 12 ſols * for every ſoldier, and a double gratuity for every officer. If theſe troops were as well as they are ill diſciplined, they would

* 6 d.

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not preſerve the iſland from invaſion, and would ſoon be reduced to capitulate to a naval force ſuperior to that which might be deſtined to ſupport them.

If Jamaica could even be preſerved from the calamities of a foreign invaſion, it would no leſs be expoſed to domeſtic dangers, ſtill more alarming.

When the Spaniards were compelled to cede Jamaica to the Engliſh, they left there a number of Negroes and Mulattoes, who, tired of their ſlavery, took a reſolution to retire into the mountains, there to preſerve that liberty which they had recovered by the expulſion of their tyrants. Having entered into ſome agreements neceſſary to preſerve their union; they planted maize and cocoa, in the moſt inacceſſible places of their retreat; but the impoſſibility of ſubſiſting till harveſt, obliged them to come down into the plain to pillage for ſuſtenance. The conquerors bore this plunder the more impatiently, as they had nothing to ſpare; and declared war againſt them. Many were maſſacred; the greater part ſubmitted; and only fifty or ſixty fled back to the rocks, there to live or die in freedom.

Policy, which ſees every thing, but is never moved by compaſſion, thought it neceſſary, utterly to exterminate or reduce this handful of fugitives, who had eſcaped from ſlavery or carnage; but the troops, who were either periſhing or exhauſted with fatigue, were averſe from this deſtructive ſcheme, which muſt have occaſioned the effuſion of more blood. It was therefore dropt, for fear

of

of a revolt. This condeſcenſion was attended with fatal conſequences. All the ſlaves grow'n deſperate by the hardſhips they underwent, or by the dread of puniſhment, ſoon ſought an aſylum in the woods, where they were ſure of meeting with companions ready to aſſiſt them. The number of fugitives increaſed daily. In a ſhort time they deſerted by troops, after having maſſacred their maſters, and plundered and ſet fire to the habitations. In vain were active partizans ſent out againſt them; to whom a reward of 900 livres* was offered for the head of every Negroe they ſhould bring. This ſeverity produced no alteration, and the deſertion only became the more general.

The rebels grew more daring as their numbers increaſed. Till the year 1690, they had only fled; but, when they thought themſelves ſtrong enough to attack, they fell upon the Engliſh plantations, in ſeparate bands, and committed horrid ravages. In vain were they driven back to their mountains with loſs; in vain were forts erected and garriſoned at proper diſtances, to prevent their inroads; notwithſtanding theſe precautions, they renewed their depredations from time to time. The reſentment which the violation of the rights of nature by barbarous policy excited in theſe Blacks, inſpired them with ſuch fury, that the white people who had bought them, in order, as they ſaid, to cut off the root of the evil, reſolved, in 1735, to employ all the forces

* 37 l. 10 s.

of

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of the colony, to deſtroy a juſtly implacable enemy.

IMMEDIATELY the military law took place of all civil government. All the coloniſts formed themſelves into regular bodies of troops. They marched towards the rebels by different roads. One party undertook to attack the town of Nauny, which the Blacks themſelves had built in the Blue Mountains. With cannon, a town built without regularity, and defended without artillery, was ſoon deſtroyed; but the ſucceſs of the other enterprizes was frequently doubtful, ſometimes attended with much loſs. The ſlaves, more elated by one triumph than diſcouraged by ten defeats, were proud of conſidering their former tyrants merely as enemies they were to contend with. If they were beaten, they had at leaſt ſome revenge. Their blood was at leaſt mixed with that of their barbarous maſters. They ruſhed againſt the ſword of the European, to plunge a dagger into his breaſt. At laſt, overpowered by numbers, or by the dexterity of their antagoniſts, the fugitives intrenched themſelves in inacceſſible places, where they diſperſed in ſmall bands, fully determined never to ſtir out; and well aſſured that they ſhould never be conquered there. At length, after various conteſts and excurſions, that laſted nine months, the Engliſh gave up all thoughts of ſubduing them.

THUS, ſooner or later, will any people, made deſperate by tyranny, or the oppreſſion of conquerors, always get the better of numerous, experienced, and even well-diſciplined armies; if they have

have but reſolution enough to endure hunger rather than the yoke; to die rather than live in bondage; and, if they chuſe, rather to ſee their nation extinct than enſlaved. Let them abandon the field to the multitude of troops; to the train of war; to the diſplay of proviſions, ammunition, and hoſpitals: let them retire into the heart of the mountains, without baggage, without covering, without ſtores; nature will provide for them and defend them. There let them remain for years, till the climate, idleneſs, and intemperance, have deſtroyed thoſe ſwarms of foreign invaders, who have no booty to expect, nor any laurels to gather. Let them pour down upon them at intervals, like the torrents of their own mountains, ſurpriſe them in their tents, and ravage their boundaries. Laſtly, let them deſpiſe the opprobrious names of robbers and murderers, which will be laviſhed upon them by a great people, baſe enough to arm themſelves againſt a handful of huntſmen, and weak enough to be unable to conquer them.

Such was the conduct of the Blacks with the Engliſh. Theſe, weary of excurſions and fruitleſs armaments, fell into univerſal deſpondency. The pooreſt among them would not venture to accept the lands which the government offered them in the vicinity of the mountains. Even the ſettlements at a greater diſtance from theſe rebels, inured to war, were either neglected or forſaken. Many parts of the iſland, which from their appearance ſeemed likely to become the moſt fruitful, were left in their uncultivated ſtate.

In

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In this ſituation was the colony, when Trelawney was appointed governor. This prudent and humane commander was ſenſible, that a ſet of men, who for near a century paſt lived upon wild fruits, went naked, and expoſed to the inclemency of the weather; who, ever at war with an aſſailant ſtronger than themſelves and better armed, never ceaſed fighting for the defence of their liberty; that ſuch a ſet of men would never be ſubdued by open force. He, therefore, had recourſe to conciliating meaſures. He offered them not only lands as their own property, but likewiſe liberty and independence.

These overtures were favourably received. The treaty concluded with them in 1739, decided, that the chief, whom they themſelves ſhould chooſe, ſhould receive his commiſſion from the Engliſh government; that he ſhould come every year to the capital of the colony, if required; that two white men ſhould conſtantly reſide with him, in order to maintain a harmony advantageous to both nations; and if the colony were ever attacked, he and all his people ſhould take up arms.

While Trelawney was negociating this accommodation in the name of the crown, the general aſſembly of the colony propoſed their ſeparate plan. In this ſecond agreement, the New people engaged to harbour no more fugitive ſlaves; and they were promiſed a ſtipulated ſum for every deſerter, whom they ſhould inform againſt, and a more conſiderable reward for thoſe whom they ſhould bring back to their plantations.

Since

Since this ſhameful contract, this ſmall republic hath been conſtantly declining. It now reckons no more than thirteen hundred individuals, men, women, and children, diſtributed in five or ſix villages.

WHETHER theſe events inſpired them with boldneſs, or whether they were exaſperated at the ill uſage they met with from the Engliſh, the Negro ſlaves reſolved to be free likewiſe. While the flames of war, kindled in Europe, were ſpreading in America, theſe miſerable men agreed, in 1760, to take up arms all in one day, murder their tyrants, and ſeize upon the government. But their impatience for liberty diſconcerted the unanimity of the plot, by preventing the timely execution of it. Some of the conſpirators ſtabbed their maſters, and ſet fire to their houſes before the appointed time; but finding themſelves unable to reſiſt the whole force of the iſland, which their premature exploit had collected in a moment, they fled to the mountains. From this impenetrable receſs they were inceſſantly making deſtructive inroads. The Engliſh, in their diſtreſs, were reduced to ſolicit the aſſiſtance of the wild Negroes, whoſe independence they had been obliged to acknowlege by a ſolemn treaty. They even bribed them, and promiſed a conſiderable ſum for every ſlave they ſhould kill with their own hands. Thoſe baſe Africans, unworthy of the liberty they had recovered, were not aſhamed to ſell the blood of their brethren: they purſued them, and killed many of them by ſurpriſe. At laſt the conſpirators, weakened and betrayed by

their own nation, remained a long time ſilent and inactive.

THE conſpiracy was thought to be effectually extinguiſhed, when the rebels, reinforced by deſerters from the ſeveral plantations, appeared again with redoubled fury. The regular troops, the militia, and a large body of ſailors, all marched in purſuit of the ſlaves; they fought and beat them in ſeveral ſkirmiſhes; many were ſlain, or taken priſoners, and the reſt diſperſed into the woods and rocks. All the priſoners were ſhot, hanged, or burnt. Thoſe who were ſuppoſed to be the chief promoters of the conſpiracy, were tied alive to gibbets, and there left to periſh ſlowly, expoſed to the ſcorching ſun of the torrid zone; a far more painful and more terrible death than that of being burnt alive. Yet their tyrants enjoyed the torments of theſe miſerable wretches, whoſe only crime was an attempt to recover by revenge, thoſe rights of which avarice and inhumanity had deprived them.

THE meaſures that were taken to prevent future inſurrections were dictated by the ſame ſpirit of barbarity. A ſlave is whipped in the public places, if he plays at any game whatſoever; if he preſumes to go a hunting, or to ſell any thing but milk or fiſh. He cannot ſtir out of his maſter's plantation, unleſs attended by a white man, or with an expreſs permiſſion in writing. If he ſhould beat a drum, or make uſe of any other noiſy inſtrument, his maſter is condemned to pay a fine of 225 livres *. Thus do the

* 9l. 7s. 6d.

Engliſh,

Engliſh, who are ſo jealous of their own liberty, ſport with that of other men. To this exceſs of barbarity the Negro trade muſt neceſſarily have brought theſe uſurpers. Such is the progreſs of injuſtice and violence. To conquer the New World, it's inhabitants muſt doubtleſs have been ſlaughtered. To replace them, Negroes muſt be bought, as they alone are able to endure the climate and the labours of America. To remove theſe Africans from their native country, who were deſigned to cultivate the land without having any poſſeſſions in it, it was neceſſary to ſeize them by force, and to make them ſlaves. To keep them in ſubjection, they muſt be treated with ſeverity. To prevent their revolt, the natural conſequence of ſeverity and ſervitude, theſe men, whom we have made deſperate, muſt be reſtrained by capital puniſhments, by hard uſage, and atrocious laws.

But cruelty itſelf has a period in it's own deſtructive nature. In an inſtant it may ceaſe. An enemy who ſhould be ſo fortunate as to land at Jamaica, would ſoon convey arms to theſe men, who are full of rancour againſt their oppreſſors, and only wait a favourable opportunity to riſe againſt them. The French, not conſidering that the revolt of the Blacks in one colony would probably occaſion it in all the reſt, will haſten ſuch a revolution in time of war. The Engliſh, finding themſelves between two fires, will be diſmayed; their ſtrength and courage will fail them; and Jamaica will fall a prey to ſlaves and conquerors,

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conquerors, who will contend for dominion with freſh enormities. Such is the train of evils that injuſtice brings along with it! It attaches itſelf to man ſo cloſely, that the connection cannot be diſſolved but by the ſword. Crimes beget crimes; blood is productive of blood; and the earth becomes a perpetual ſcene of deſolation, tears, miſery, and affliction, where ſucceſſive generations riſe to imbrue their hands in blood, to tear out each other's bowels, and to lay each other in the duſt.

Advantages of Jamaica for war. It's diſadvantages for navigation.

THE loſs of Jamaica, however, would be a heavy one for England. Nature has placed this iſland at the entrance of the gulph of Mexico, and made it a kind of key to that rich country. All ſhips going from Carthagena to the Havannah, are obliged to paſs by it's coaſts; it is more within reach of the ſeveral trading ports on the continent, than any other iſland; the many excellent roads with which it is ſurrounded, facilitate the launching of men of war on all ſides of the iſland. Theſe ſeveral advantages are balanced by ſome inconveniences.

IF it be eaſy to get at Jamaica by the trade-winds, by taking a view of the Leſs Antilles, it is not ſo eaſy to get away from thence, whether we go through the Streights of Bahama, or determine for the Leeward Paſſage.

THE firſt of theſe two ways gives the full advantage of the wind for two hundred leagues; but as ſoon as Cape St. Anthony is doubled, we meet the ſame wind againſt us that before was favourable:

favourable: ſo that more time is loſt than was gained; and there is alſo a riſque of being taken by the guarda-coſtas of the Havannah. This danger is ſucceeded by another, which is the ſhoals on the coaſt of Florida, towards which the winds and currents drive with great violence. The Elizabeth, an Engliſh man of war, would infallibly have been loſt there in 1746, had not Captain Edwards ventured into the Havannah. It was during the height of the war, and the port belonged to the enemy. "I come," ſaid the captain to the governor, "to deliver up "my ſhip, my ſailors, my ſoldiers, and myſelf, "into your hands; I only aſk the lives of my "men." "I will not be guilty of any diſho- "nourable action," replied the Spaniſh commander. "Had we taken you in fight, in open "ſea, or upon our coaſts, your ſhip would have "been our's, and you would have been our pri- "ſoners. But as you are overtaken by a ſtorm, "and are driven into this port from the fear of "being ſhipwrecked, I do and ought to forget "that my nation is at war with your's. You "are men, and ſo are we; you are in diſtreſs, "and have a right to our pity. You are at "liberty to unload and refit your veſſel; and "if you want it, you may trade in this "port to pay your charges; you may then "go away, and you will have a paſs to carry "you ſafe beyond the Bermudas. If after this "you ſhould be taken, you will be a lawful "prize; but, at this moment, I ſee in Engliſh-

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"men, only ſtrangers for whom humanity claims "our aſſiſtance."

SPANIARDS! incomprehenſible race of men, tell me, ſince ſuch are your feelings, and ſince you can ſpeak thus to an enemy, delivered into your power by the winds, why have ye not know'n how to reſpect the innocent ſavage, proſtrate at your feet, who adored you? The reaſon of this I conceive to be, that Captain Edwards's ſhip was not loaded with that yellow duſt, the ſight of which changes you into wild beaſts. Perhaps I have calumniated you: but I have ſeen you ſo frequently below your own ſpecies, that I have had good reaſon for doubting of your virtues; eſpecially when you diſplay them to me with a character of heroiſm, which affects and aſtoniſhes me. I oppoſe ſuſpicions, perhaps unjuſt ones, to my admiration and to my tears, which are ready to flow.

THE other way is attended with no leſs difficulty and danger. It terminates at a ſmall iſland, that the Engliſh call Crooked Iſland, which lies eighty leagues off Jamaica. Ships that come this way, muſt commonly ſtrive againſt the eaſterly wind through the whole paſſage, coaſt along cloſe under St. Domingo, in order to keep clear of the flats of Cuba, and then paſs the ſtreights, between the points of theſe two great iſlands, where it is very difficult to eſcape being intercepted by their privateers or their men of war. The navigators coming from the Lucays do not meet with theſe obſtructions.

IT

Revolutions which have happened in the Lucaya islands.

It is reckoned, that there are about two hundred of these islands, all of them situated to the north of Cuba, and most of which are nothing more than rocks just rising above water. Columbus, who discovered them on his arrival in the New World, and who gave the name of San Salvador to that on which he landed, did not make any settlement there. Neither did the Castilians afterwards fix upon it; but in 1507, they carried off all the inhabitants, who soon perished in the mines, or in the pearl fishery. This small Archipelago was entirely desert, when, in 1672, some Englishmen took possession of Providence island; they were driven from thence seven or eight years afterwards, by the orders of the court of Madrid, but returned in 1690, and were again expelled in 1703, by the Spaniards and French united. The island was peopled again by a particular event.

State of these islands.

In 1714, some ships richly laden were swallowed up by a storm upon the coasts of Florida. The treasures which they contained belonged to the Spaniards, who caused them to be dived for. So rich a prey tempted some of the inhabitants of Jamaica. The Spaniards refused to share with them, and Jennings, the boldest among them, had recourse to arms to support what he called a natural and undeniable right. The dread of being severely punished, for having disturbed the peace which Europe had for so long a time been anxious to obtain, obliged him to turn pirate. His companions were soon numerous enough to make it necessary to multiply

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his armaments. The Lucays became their place of retreat. It was from thence that theſe robbers ſallied forth to attack all veſſels without diſtinction, Engliſh as well as others. The nations were apprehenſive of ſeeing renewed, in the New World, thoſe ſcenes of horror which had been diſplayed there by the antient freebooters, when George I. rouzed by the clamours of his people, and by the wiſhes of his parliament, ſent out, in 1719, a ſufficient force to ſubdue theſe pirates. The moſt determined of them refuſed the amneſty which was offered them, and went to infeſt the coaſts of Aſia and Africa with their robberies. The reſt increaſed the colony which Woods Rogers brought with him from Europe.

THIS colony may at this day conſiſt of three or four thouſand perſons, half of whom are ſettled at Providence, where Fort Naſſau hath been conſtructed, and which hath a harbour ſufficient for ſmall veſſels; the reſt are diſtributed in the other iſlands. They ſend annually to England to the value of forty or fifty thouſand crowns * of cotton, wood for dying, and live turtle; and with their ſalt they pay for the proviſions which North America ſupplies them with.

ALTHOUGH the ſoil of the Lucays cannot be compared to that of ſeveral of the other colonies, yet it would be ſufficient to afford plenty of ſubſiſtence, by labour, to a population much more conſiderable than that which is at preſent found there, in free people or in ſlaves. The great

* From 5,000 l. to 6,250 l.

neglect

neglect of it's cultures muſt be attributed to the firſt manners, and preſent propenſities, of the inhabitants. Theſe iſlands, which on one ſide are ſeparated from Florida by the channel of Bahama, form on the other a long chain, which terminates at the point of Cuba. It is there that begin the iſlands called Turk's Iſlands, or Caicos, which continue the chain as far as towards the middle of the northern coaſt of St. Domingo. So favourable a poſition for piracy hath turned the views of the inhabitants towards a cruizing life. They are ever eager to engage in hoſtilities, which may put the Spaniſh and French productions into their hands. The Bermudas exhibit a more tranquil ſcene.

Poverty of the Bermudas. Character of the inhabitants.

THIS ſmall Archipelago, about three hundred leagues diſtant from that of the Antilles, was diſcovered in 1527, by the Spaniard John Bermudas, who gave his name to it, but did not land there. Ferdinand Camelo, a Portugueze, obtained in 1572, of Philip II. a grant of it, which did not take effect. The French navigator Barbotiere was ſhipwrecked there in 1593, but thought no more of it after he had quitted it. The ſhip of George Sommers was broken to pieces there in 1609. With the wrecks of this ſhip a ſmall veſſel was conſtructed, which had the good fortune to arrive ſafe in England.

THREE years after, a company was formed in London to people the Bermudas, which were entirely uninhabited. Sixty men were ſent there, and they were ſoon followed by many more. They occupied at firſt St. George, the one of theſe

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iſlands which had the beſt harbour; and in proceſs of time they took poſſeſſion of all thoſe which were ſuſceptible of culture. The land was exactly meaſured, and diſtributed among the inhabitants, in proportion as their families were more or leſs numerous.

The accounts that were propagated, of the ſalubrity and mildneſs of the climate, attracted coloniſts from all parts of the Britiſh empire. Inhabitants reſorted thither from the Antilles, for the recovery of their health; and from the northern colonies, to enjoy their fortune in peace. Many royaliſts retired there, in expectation of the death of their oppreſſor Cromwell. Waller, among the reſt, that charming poet, who was an enemy to that tyrannical deliverer, croſſed the ſeas, and celebrated thoſe fortunate iſlands, inſpired by the influence of the air, and the beauty of the country, which are always favourable to the poet. He imparted his enthuſiaſm to the fair ſex. The Engliſh ladies never thought themſelves handſome or well dreſſed, unleſs they had ſmall Bermuda hats made with palm leaves.

But at laſt the charm was broken, and theſe iſlands fell into that contempt which their inſignificance deſerved. They are very numerous, and their whole compaſs is but ſix or ſeven leagues. The ſoil is very indifferent, and there is not a ſingle ſpring to water it. There is no water to drink but what is taken from wells and reſervoirs. Maize, vegetables, and excellent fruits, afford plenty of wholeſome food; but there are no ſuperfluous commodities for exportation; yet chance has collected under this pure and temperate ſky,

four

four or five thouſand inhabitants; poor, but happy in being unobſerved. Their connections with England do not annually exceed 120,000 livres*, and thoſe which they have formed with the American continent are ſcarcely more extenſive.

In order to render the circumſtances of this weak colony more eaſy, it hath been ſucceſſively propoſed to cultivate ſilk, vines, and cochineal there; but none of theſe projects have been carried into execution. Induſtry hath been confined to the manufacturing of ſail-cloth, an occupation which is naturally connected with the conſtruction of thoſe ſmall veſſels made of cedar or acajou wood, which have never been equalled upon the globe, either for their ſailing or for their duration.

The principal inhabitants of the Bermuda iſlands formed a ſociety in 1765, the ſtatutes of which are, perhaps, the moſt reſpectable monument that ever dignified humanity. Theſe virtuous citizens engaged themſelves to form a library of all books of huſbandry, in whatever language they had been written; to procure to all capable perſons of both ſexes, an employment ſuitable to their diſpoſition; to beſtow a reward on every man who had introduced into the colony any new art, or contributed to the improvement of any one already know'n; to give a penſion to every daily workman, who, after having aſſiduouſly continued his labour, and maintained a good character for forty years, ſhould not have been able to lay

* 5,000 l.

by a ſtock ſufficient to allow him to paſs his latter days in quiet; and laſtly, to indemnify every individual who ſhould have been oppreſſed either by the miniſter or the magiſtrate.

May theſe advantages ever be preſerved to theſe induſtrious, though indigent people; happy in their labour and in their poverty, which keeps their morals untainted! They enjoy in a ſtate of innocence the benefits of a pure and ſerene ſky, and preſerve tranquillity of mind with health. The poiſon of luxury has never infected them. They are not themſelves addicted to envy, nor do they excite it in others. The rage of ambition and war is extinguiſhed upon their coaſts, as the ſtorms of the ocean that ſurround them are broken. The virtuous man would willingly croſs the ſeas to enjoy the ſight of their frugality. May the winds never convey to them the account of the events of the world in which we live! They then learn——but, alas!——my imagination wanders, the pen drops from my hand, and they ſhall receive no information from me.

Such were the poſſeſſions of the Engliſh in the American Archipelago, when the ſucceſſes of the war which ended in 1763, gave to the domains of that power, a conſiderable increaſe of extent, of which Granada was the richeſt part.

Granada was firſt occupied by the French. What the firſt coloniſts did there.

This iſland hath twenty-one leagues in circumference, ſix in it's greateſt breadth, which is from north to ſouth, and four from eaſt to weſt. It's territory, though very uneven, is in general fertile, and ſuſceptible of ſome kind of culture, according to it's quality, and to it's expoſure, which

which is not ſufficiently attended to. The ſoil, however, becomes leſs productive, in proportion to it's diſtance from the coaſts. The cauſe of this perhaps may be, that the rains, which are too frequent at the foot of the mountains, even in thoſe ſeaſons when the reſt of the iſland is afflicted by droughts, keep the neighbouring grounds, which are almoſt all clayey, in a ſtate of freſhneſs and moiſture, which deſtroys their richneſs, and conſequently their fertility.

The weſtern part of the iſland is watered by ten rivers, the northern part by three, the eaſtern part by eight, and the ſouthern part by five. Beſide theſe ſprings, which are all conſiderable enough to work ſugar-mills, there are ſeveral others leſs conſiderable, but very uſeful to the coffee plantations.

The neighbouring continent ſhelters Granada from thoſe fatal hurricanes, which carry deſolation in ſo many other iſlands; and nature hath multiplied the creeks, the bays, and the harbours, which are favourable for the exportation of proviſions. It's principal port is called Baſſe-Terre, or St. George, which would furniſh a ſafe retreat to ſixty men of war.

Though the French, acquainted with the fertility of Granada, had formed, as early as the year 1638, the project of ſettling there, yet they never carried it into execution till the year 1651. At their arrival, they gave a few hatchets, ſome knives, and a barrel of brandy, to the chief of the ſavages they found there; and imagining they had purchaſed the iſland with theſe trifles, aſſumed the ſovereignty,

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ſovereignty, and ſoon acted as tyrants. The Caribs, unable to contend with them by open force, took the method which weakneſs always inſpires to repel oppreſſion; they murdered all whom they found alone and defenceleſs. The troops that were ſent to ſupport the infant colony, found no ſafer or more expeditious way than to deſtroy all the natives. The remainder of theſe miſerable ſavages took refuge upon a ſteep rock, preferring rather to throw themſelves down alive from the top of it, than to fall into the hands of an implacable enemy. The French inconſiderately called this rock *le morne des ſauteurs*, the hill of the leapers; and it ſtill retains that name.

How was it poſſible that theſe frivolous people could loſe, in diſtant countries, that vein of pleaſantry which they preſerve in their own, even in the midſt of the greateſt calamities! They are not a cruel people; but the natural cheerfulneſs which accompanies the Frenchman in tents, in the midſt of camps, upon the field of battle, upon a mattraſs in an hoſpital, where he may have been laid, covered with wounds, and of which he is expiring, will ſuggeſt to him ſome ridiculous expreſſion, which will produce a ſmile in the companions of his misfortunes: and this contraſt of character with ſituation will manifeſt itſelf in the ſame manner among all Frenchmen, and among ſome perſons of a ſingular turn in all the countries in the world.

They were juſtly puniſhed for all theſe cruelties, by a rapacious, violent, and inflexible governor. Moſt of the coloniſts, no longer able to endure

dure his tyranny, retired to Martinico, and thoſe who remained on the iſland condemned him to death. In the whole court of juſtice that formally tried this miſcreant, there was only one man who could write, and his name was Archangeli. A farrier was the perſon that impeached, who, inſtead of the ſignature, ſealed with a horſeſhoe, and Archangeli, who performed the office of clerk, wrote gravely round it, *Marque de Monſieur de la Brie, conſeiller rapporteur:* MARK OF MR. DE LA BRIE, COUNSEL FOR THE COURT.

IT was apprehended that the court of France would not ratify this extraordinary ſentence, paſſed with ſuch unuſual formalities, though dictated by common ſenſe. Moſt of the judges of the crime, and witneſſes of the execution, diſappeared from Granada. None remained, except thoſe whoſe obſcurity ſcreened them from the purſuit of the laws. The eſtimate taken in 1700 ſhews, that there were on the iſland no more than 251 white people, 53 free ſavages or mulattoes, and 525 ſlaves. The uſeful animals were reduced to 64 horſes, and 569 head of horned cattle. The whole culture conſiſted of three plantations of ſugar, and fifty-two of indigo.

THE face of things was totally changed towards the year 1714; and this alteration was effected by Martinico. That iſland was then laying the foundation of a ſplendour that was to aſtoniſh all nations. It ſent immenſe productions to France, and received valuable commodities in return, which were moſt of them ſent to the Spaniſh coaſts. It's ſhips touched at Granada in their

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their way, to take in refreſhments. The trading privateers, who undertook this navigation, taught the people of that iſland the value of their ſoil, which only required cultivation. The execution of every project is facilitated by commerce. Some traders furniſhed the inhabitants with ſlaves and utenſils to erect ſugar plantations. An open account was eſtabliſhed between the two colonies. Granada was clearing it's debts gradually by it's rich produce, and the balance was on the point of being cloſed, when the war in 1744 interrupted the communication between the two iſlands, and at the ſame time ſtopped the progreſs of the moſt important culture of the New World. At that time cotton, cacao, and particularly coffee trees, were planted, and during the continuance of hoſtilities, they acquired a ſufficient growth to yield plentifully. Theſe uſeful trees were not abandoned after the peace of 1748; but the culture of the ſugar canes was then puſhed with an eagerneſs proportioned to their importance. A ſeries of misfortunes, too much merited, ſoon deprived the mother-country of the great advantages it flattered itſelf with from this colony.

The paſſionate deſire of premature and unbounded enjoyment, that malady which hath tainted the government of a nation which yet deſerves the affection of her maſters; that prodigality, which reaps when it ſhould ſow; which deſtroys the paſt with one hand, and the future with the other; which exhauſts and conſumes the ſtock, by anticipating the income; that confuſion

which

which reſults from the diſtreſſes any ſtate muſt neceſſarily be reduced to, that has neither principles nor experience, that has power without views, and means without conduct; that anarchy that prevails at the helm; that precipitation, that caballing among inferiors; the impropriety, or total want of projects; on one hand the audacity of doing any thing with impunity; on the other, the fear of ſpeaking even for the public good: this concurrence of long ſucceeding evils has throw'n Granada into the hands of Great Britain, which is confirmed in the poſſeſion of this conqueſt by the treaty of 1763.

Events which have happened at Granada ſince it is fallen under the Britiſh government.

The Engliſh did not make a fortunate beginning. A great number of them reſolved to have plantations upon an iſland, of which the higheſt opinion had previouſly been formed; and in their enthuſiaſm they purchaſed them for much more than their real value. This paſſion, which expelled the antient coloniſts, who were inured to the climate, drew thirty-five or thirty-ſix millions of livres * out of the mother-country. This imprudence was followed by another. The new proprietors, miſled no doubt by national pride, have ſubſtituted new methods to thoſe of their predeceſſors. They attempted to alter the mode of living among their ſlaves. The Negroes, who from their ignorance are more attached to their old cuſtoms than other men, revolted. It was found neceſſary to ſend out troops, and to ſhed blood. The whole colony was filled with ſuſpicions.

* From 1,458,333 l. 6 s. 8 d. to 1,500,000 l.

Maſters,

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Maſters, who had been under the neceſſity of uſing violent methods, were afraid of being burnt or maſſacred in their own habitations. The labours declined, and were even totally ſuſpended. Tranquillity was at length reſtored, but it was ſoon ſucceeded by a new ſtorm.

THROUGHOUT the whole extent of the Britiſh empire, the Roman Catholics are rigorouſly deprived of the leaſt influence in public affairs. When the miniſtry eſtabliſhed the Engliſh government at Granada, they thought proper to deviate from theſe generally received principles; and they permitted all the antient inhabitants, of whatever religion they might be, to give their vote in the aſſemblies of the colony. This innovation met with the moſt obſtinate reſiſtance; but at laſt parliament, which had got rid of ſome of it's prejudices, declared in favour of the adminiſtration, and Catholics, as well as others, were allowed to attend to the common intereſts of the colony.

THE predilection which George III. had ſhew'n for the French, who were become his ſubjects, made him imagine that his commands would meet with no oppoſition in a ſettlement of which they ſtill formed the greateſt number. In this perſuaſion, he ordered that the duty of four and a half per cent. upon productions on their exportation, which, in an exceſs of zeal, all the Britiſh iſlands, except Jamaica, had very anciently granted, ſhould be levied at Granada. The power of doing this was diſputed with him.

The cauſe was formally tried, and the deciſion was not favourable to the monarch.

THIS triumph elated the minds of the coloniſts. In order to accelerate the cultures, they had borrowed large ſums from the monied people of the mother-country. Theſe debts, which amounted to 50,000,000 of livres *, were not paid at the appointed time. The creditors had recourſe to the rigour of the law, which authorized them to ſeize the plantations that had been mortgaged to them, to put them up to public ſale, and to exact the full value of them eight months after. This ſeverity ſpread univerſal conſternation. The legiſlative body of the iſland in their deſpair, paſſed a bill on the 6th of June 1774, which divided the value of the acquiſition into five payments, and which protracted the laſt payment to the term of thirty-two months. The ſecret motive of this ſingular act, was undoubtedly to put it in the power of the debtors to bid for their own eſtates, and by this contrivance to procure them delays, which they would in vain have expected from the commiſeration of their creditors.

A MEASURE ſo bold excited a tumult throughout England. It was generally thought an injurious thing, that a very ſmall part of the empire ſhould arrogate to itſelf a right of annihilating engagements contracted under the ſanction of a law univerſally eſtabliſhed, in the good faith of trade. This indignation was communicated even to the iſlands of America, which underſtood clearly, that no further credit could be expected,

* 2,083,333 l. 6 s. 8 d.

if

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if confidence were not ſettled upon a firm baſis. The Britons of the Old and of the New World united in urging the Supreme Power, to repair without delay this great breach made in the important and impreſcriptible right of property.

Cultures of Granada, and of the Granadines.

THE parliament, whatever might be the diſtreſs of this valuable acquiſition, thought in the ſame manner as the people.

IN 1771 and 1775, St. George was reduced to aſhes by dreadful fires. The colony experienced other calamities; and notwithſtanding this, it's productions have increaſed threefold ſince it came out of the hands of the French. It is become, under the other hemiſphere, the ſecond of the Engliſh iſlands. It's new mother-country receives from it annually eighteen millions weight of ſugar, which, at 40 livres * the quintal, produce in Europe 7,200,000 livres †; one million one hundred thouſand gallons of rum, which, at one livre ten ſols ‡ the gallon, produce 1,650,000 livres ‖; thirty thouſand quintals of coffee, which, at 50 livres § the quintal, produce 1,500,000 livres ¶; three thouſand quintals of cacoa, which, at 50 livres ** the quintal, produce 150,000 livres ††; three hundred quintals of indigo, which, at 800 livres ‡‡ the quintal, produce 240,000 livres |||; thirteen thouſand quintals of cotton,

* 1 l. 13 s. 4 d.
‡ 1 s. 3 d.
§ 2 l. 1 s. 8 d.
** 2 l. 1 s. 8 d.
‡‡ 33 l. 6 s. 8 d.
† 300,000 l.
‖ 68,750 l.
¶ 62,500 l.
†† 6,250 l.
||| 10,000 l.

which

which at 150 livres * the quintal, produce 1,950,000 livres †; this makes in all 12,690,000 livres ‡; but in this revenue is included that which the Granadines produce.

THESE are a dozen of ſmall iſlands, from three to eight leagues in circumference. They do not afford a ſingle river, and yet the climate is very wholeſome. The ground covered only with thin buſhes, has not been ſcreened from the ſun for many centuries, and it may be cultivated without it's exhaling at any time thoſe noxious vapours which generally attack the planters perpetually elſewhere.

CARIACOU, the only one of theſe iſlands which the French have occupied, was at firſt frequented by turtle fiſhermen, who, in the intervals of leiſure afforded them by their occupation, attempted ſome kinds of culture. Their ſmall number was ſoon increaſed by ſeveral of the inhabitants of Guadalupe, who had been driven from their habitations by miſchievous inſects. Theſe good people, aſſiſted by eight or nine hundred ſlaves, employed themſelves with ſucceſs in the culture of cotton. This ſhrub was conveyed by the Engliſh to the other Granadine iſlands, and they even formed a ſugar plantation at Bequia, and two at Cariacou.

TABAGO, which was acquired by Great Britain at the ſame period and by the ſame treaty, is ſeparated from the Spaniſh iſland of Trinidad only

The iſland of Tabago, which was the cauſe of great diſ-

* 6l. 5 s. † 81,250l. ‡ 528,750l.

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putes between the Dutch and the French, becomes a British poſſeſſion.

by a channel of nine leagues over. This poſſeſſion hath ten leagues in length and four in it's greateſt breadth. It hath a harbour upon it's eaſtern coaſt, in which there are twenty-five or thirty feet of water, and another on it's northern coaſt, which hath no more than twenty or twenty-five. They are both ſheltered from moſt of the winds, an advantage which that on the ſouth ſide doth not enjoy. Among the ſmall mountains which occupy the center of the iſland, there is one more elevated, the black and reddiſh colour of which ſeems to indicate the ruins of an antient volcano. It is not expoſed to thoſe dreadful hurricanes that are ſo deſtructive in other parts. Poſſibly, it owes this ineſtimable advantage to the vicinity of the continent.

TABAGO has formerly been exceedingly populous, if we may credit ſome traditional accounts. The inhabitants long withſtood the fierce and frequent attacks of the ſavages from the continent, who were ſtubborn and irreconcileable enemies. At length, wearied out with theſe inroads, which were inceſſantly renewed, they diſperſed into the adjacent iſlands.

THAT which they had forſaken lay open to invaſion from Europe, when two hundred natives of Fleſſingen landed there in 1632, to lay the foundation of a Dutch colony. The neighbouring Indians joined with the Spaniards of the iſland of Trinidad, to oppoſe an eſtabliſhment that gave umbrage to both. Whoever attempted to ſtop their fury, was murdered or taken priſoner; and the

few

few who escaped into the woods soon deserted the island.

For twenty years the Dutch forgot a settlement which was only noted for the disasters of it's origin. In 1654, a fresh colony was sent there, which was driven away in 1666. The English were soon deprived of this conquest by the French; but Lewis XIV. satisfied with having conquered it, restored it to his ally the republic of Holland. This settlement succeeded no better than the other colonies of that commercial nation that were engaged in agriculture. The motives that determine so many persons from other countries to go to America, ought never to have influenced the Dutch. Their own country affords every possible advantage for trade, and they have no need to go abroad to make their fortune. A happy toleration, purchased like their liberty, with rivers of blood, hath at length left the consciences of all men free; so that no religious scruples can induce timorous minds to banish themselves from their native country. The government makes such ample provision for the relief and employment of the poor, that none are driven by despair to go and clear a foreign land which usually destroys the first cultivators. Tabago, therefore, never had more than 1200 men, employed in the culture of a little tobacco, cotton and indigo, and of six sugar plantations.

The colony was confined to this scanty exertion of industry, when it was attacked by the very same nation that had restored it to it's former rights of possession and property. In the month of February

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1677, a French fleet, deſtined to ſeize upon Tabago, fell in with the Dutch fleet that was ſent out to oppoſe this expedition. They engaged in one of the roads of the iſland, which became famous for this memorable action in an age abounding with great events. The obſtinacy and valour on both ſides was ſuch, that the fight ſtill continued, when every ſhip was diſmaſted, and unrigged, and no ſailors left to work them. The engagement did not ceaſe till twelve veſſels were burnt, and a great number were ſunk. The aſſailers loſt the feweſt men, and the defendants kept poſſeſſion of the iſland.

But d'Eſtrées, who was determined to take it, landed there the ſame year in the month of December. There was then no fleet to obſtruct or retard his progreſs. A bomb throw'n from his camp, blew up their powder magazine. This proved, as it generally does, a deciſive ſtroke; and the enemy, unable to reſiſt, ſurrendered at diſcretion. The conquerors availed themſelves to the utmoſt of the right of war: not content with razing the fortifications, they burnt the plantations, ſeized upon all the ſhips in the harbour, and tranſported the inhabitants from the iſland. The conqueſt of this place was ſecured to France by the peace that ſoon followed an action, in which defeat was attended with no marks of diſgrace, and victory with no advantage.

The court of Verſailles neglected this important iſland to ſuch a degree, as not to ſend a ſingle man thither. Perhaps, in the intoxication of falſe grandeur, they beheld with indifference whatever

was

was merely uſeful. They even entertained an unfavourable opinion of Tabago, and imagined it was only a barren rock. This error gained ground from the behaviour of the French, who, finding themſelves too numerous at Martinico, went over to the iſlands of St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Dominica. Theſe were precarious poſſeſſions, and the ſoil of which was of an indifferent quality. Could they poſſibly have been preferred to an iſland where the land was better, and the property inconteſtable? Such was the reaſoning of a government, which was not then ſufficiently enlightened concerning the trade and plantations of the colonies, to diſcern the true motives of this diſlike the ſubjects had to Tabago.

An infant colony, eſpecially when it is founded with ſlender means, cannot ſubſiſt without immediate aſſiſtance. It cannot make any progreſs but in proportion as it finds conſumption for it's firſt productions. Theſe are generally of a common ſort, are not worth the expences of exportation to any diſtance, and, therefore, will ſcarce ſell but in the neighbourhood, and ought inſenſibly, and by moderate profits, to lead to the undertaking of thoſe great cultures which are the object of commerce between Europe and the Leeward Iſlands. But Tabago was too remote from the French ſettlements, to attract inhabitants by ſuch a gradation of ſucceſs. Leſs fruitful iſlands, that were nearer to their reſources, were preferred.

The low condition into which it was fallen, did not prevent it from attracting the attention of England. That proud iſland, which thinks her-

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ſelf the queen of all others, becauſe ſhe is the moſt flouriſhing, pretended to have an undoubted right to that of Tabago, becauſe it had once been in her poſſeſſion for ſix months. Her forces have confirmed her pretenſions; and the peace of 1763, has juſtified the ſucceſs of her arms, by ceding to her a poſſeſſion, which ſhe will turn to better account than the French ever did.

Plan for clearing the American iſlands.

ALMOST all the ſettlements in the Antilles have proved fatal to the firſt coloniſts, who acting by chance in times of little experience, without the concurrence of the mother-country, committed perpetual blunders. Their avidity would not ſuffer them to follow the method of the natives, who, to abate the influence of a conſtant ſcorching ſun, uſed to ſeparate the ſmall parcels of land which they were forced to clear, with large ſpaces covered with trees and ſhady thickets. Theſe ſavages, inſtructed by experience, fixed their dwellings in the middle of the woods, to preſerve themſelves from the quick and dangerous exhalations of a ground newly turned up.

THE deſtroyers of this prudent people, being too eager after their profits, neglected this method as too ſlow; and being impatient to cultivate all, precipitately cut down whole foreſts. Thick vapours immediately aroſe from the ground, which was heated, for the firſt time, by the rays of the ſun. Theſe increaſed as the earth was ſtirred up for ſowing and planting. Their malignant particles inſinuated themſelves into every pore, and every organ of the huſbandman; who, by hard labour,

labour, was conſtantly kept in a profuſe perſpiration. The circulation of the fluids was ſtopped, all the viſcera were dilated, the body ſwelled, the ſtomach could no longer perform it's functions, and death enſued. Thoſe who eſcaped theſe peſtilential influences by day, loſt their lives by ſleeping in huts haſtily run up upon a freſh ſoil, where vegetation was too active, and ſo unwholeſome, that it conſumed the men before it could nouriſh the plants.

From theſe obſervations it appears, that the following would be the beſt plan which could be purſued in the eſtabliſhing of a new colony. At our firſt arrival, it ſhould be obſerved what winds are moſt prevalent in the Archipelago of America, and it will be found that they blow regularly from the ſouth-eaſt and north-eaſt. If we were at liberty to chuſe, and met with no obſtacle from the nature of the ground, we ſhould take care not to fix on the leeward ſide, leſt the wind ſhould be continually bringing to us the vapours of the new-tilled grounds, and infect, from the exhalations of the new plantations, a piece of land that might have been purified in time. Our colony ſhould, therefore, be founded on the windward ſide of whatever country we mean to cultivate. Firſt, all the habitations ſhould be built in the woods, and not a tree be ſuffered to be felled about them. The woods are wholeſome; the refreſhing ſhade they afford, and the cool air we breathe in them, even in the heat of the day, are a preſervative againſt that exceſſive perſpiration, which is the deſtruction of moſt Europeans, by the dryneſs and

acrimony of an inflammable blood, deprived of it's fluid parts. Fires ſhould be kept in the huts all night, to diſpel any noxious air that might have entered. This cuſtom, which is conſtantly practiſed in ſome parts of Africa, would be as ſucceſsful in America, conſidering the analogy between the two climates.

After having taken theſe precautions, we might begin to cut down the woods; but it ſhould be at leaſt at fifty toiſes diſtance from the huts. When the ground is laid bare, the ſlaves ſhould not be ſent out to their work till ten o'clock in the morning, when the ſun has had time to divide the vapours, and the wind to drive them away. The four hours loſt after ſun-riſe, would be fully compenſated by ſparing the ſtrength of the labourers, and by the preſervation of the human race. This attention ſhould be continued as long as any lands are clearing or ſowing, till the ground was thoroughly purged and ſettled; when the coloniſts might be allowed to fix upon it, and be employed without the leaſt apprehenſions at all hours in the day. Experience has already juſtified the neceſſity of all theſe meaſures.

Misfortunes which the Engliſh have ſuffered at Tabago, for having deviated from the maxims which we have juſt laid down.

The Engliſh and their ſlaves not having followed the plan we have been tracing, periſhed in great numbers at Tabago, though moſt of them came there together from the neighbouring colonies. Enlightened by this diſaſter, they ſettled to windward of the iſland, and death ceaſed it's ravages. The cuſtom which the Britiſh government have of ſelling the ſoil of the iſlands,

and

and the formalities inſeparable from ſuch a ſyſtem, retarded the formation of a ſettlement, which by purſuing other maxims, perhaps leſs prudent, might have been begun immediately after the peace. It was not till 1766, that fourteen thouſand acres of ground were allotted and divided into ſhares of five hundred acres each. New allotments were afterwards made, but no planter was ever allowed to purchaſe more than one ſhare.

The iſland, the ſoil of which hath been found too ſandy, is yet inhabited only by four hundred white people and eight thouſand Negroes. They were ſtopped in the beginning of their career by ants, who have devoured the greateſt part of the ſugar canes which have been already planted. The forty thouſand quintals of ſugar which were gathered from thirty plantations have been reduced to one half. This void hath been filled up by cotton, the crop of which is eight hundred thouſand pounds weight, and by indigo, which yields twelve thouſand pounds. St. Vincent hath not experienced a ſimilar calamity.

Hiſtory of the ſavages of St. Vincent.

When the Engliſh and French, who for ſome years had been ravaging the Windward Iſlands, began to give ſome conſiſtence to their ſettlements, in the year 1660, they agreed that Dominica and St. Vincent ſhould be left to the Caribs as their property. Some of theſe ſavages, who till then had been diſperſed, retired into the former, and the greater part into the latter. There theſe mild and moderate men, lovers of peace and ſilence, lived in the woods, in ſcattered families, under the guidance

guidance of an old man, whom his age alone had advanced to the dignity of ruler. The dominion paſſed ſucceſſively into every family, where the oldeſt always became king, that is to ſay, the guide and father of the nation. Theſe ignorant ſavages were ſtill unacquainted with the ſublime art of ſubduing and governing men by force of arms; of maſſacring the inhabitants of a country to get poſſeſſion of their lands; of granting to the conquerors the property, and to the conquered the labours of the conquered country; and in proceſs of time, of depriving both of the rights and the fruit of their toil by arbitrary taxes.

THE population of theſe children of nature was ſuddenly augmented by a race of Africans, whoſe origin was never poſitively aſcertained. It is ſaid, that a ſhip carrying Negroes for ſale, foundered on the coaſt of St. Vincent; and the ſlaves who eſcaped the wreck, were received as brethren by the ſavages. Others pretend that theſe Negroes were deſerters, who ran away from the plantations of the neighbouring colonies. A third tradition ſays, that this foreign race comes from the Blacks whom the Caribs took from the Spaniards in the firſt wars between thoſe Europeans and the Indians. If we may credit Du Tertre, the moſt antient hiſtorian, who has written an account of the Antilles, thoſe terrible ſavages, who were ſo inveterate againſt their maſters, ſpared the captive ſlaves, brought them home, and reſtored them to liberty that they might enjoy life, that is, the common bleſſings of nature, which no man has a right

a right to withhold from any of his fellow-creatures.

THEIR kindneſs did not ſtop here: for by whatever chance theſe ſtrangers were brought into the iſland, the proprietors of it gave them their daughters in marriage; and the race that ſprang from this mixture, were called black Caribs. They have preſerved more of the primitive colour of their fathers, than of the lighter hue of their mothers. The red Caribs are of a low ſtature; the black Caribs tall and ſtout; and this doubly ſavage race ſpeak with a vehemence that ſeems to reſemble anger.

The arrival of the French at St. Vincent raiſes diſputes between the red and the black Caribs.

IN proceſs of time, however, ſome differences aroſe between the two nations. The people of Martinico perceiving this, reſolved to take advantage of their diviſions, and raiſe themſelves on the ruins of both parties. Their pretence was, that the black Caribs gave ſhelter to the ſlaves who deſerted from the French iſlands. Impoſture is always productive of injuſtice. Thoſe who were falſely accuſed, were afterwards attacked without reaſon. But the ſmallneſs of the numbers ſent out againſt them; the jealouſy of thoſe who were appointed to command the expedition; the defection of the red Caribs, who refuſed to ſupply ſuch dangerous allies with any of the ſuccours they had promiſed them to act againſt their rivals; the difficulty of procuring ſubſiſtence; the impoſſibility of coming up with enemies who kept themſelves concealed in woods and mountains: all theſe circumſtances conſpired to diſconcert this raſh and violent enterpriſe. It was obliged to be given up,

after

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after the loſs of many valuable lives; but the triumph the ſavages obtained, did not prevent them from ſueing for peace as ſuppliants. They even invited the French to come and live with them, ſwearing ſincere friendſhip and inviolable concord. The propoſal was agreed to; and the next year, 1719, many of the inhabitants of Martinico removed to St. Vincent.

THE firſt who came thither ſettled peaceably, not only with the conſent, but by the aſſiſtance of the red Caribs. This ſucceſs induced others to follow their example; but theſe, whether from jealouſy, or ſome other motive, taught the ſavages a fatal ſecret. That people, who knew of no property but the fruits of the earth, becauſe they are the reward of labour, learnt with aſtoniſhment, that they could ſell the earth itſelf, which they had always looked upon as belonging to mankind in general. This knowlege induced them to meaſure and fix boundaries; and from that inſtant peace and happineſs were baniſhed from their iſland. The partition of lands occaſioned diviſions amongſt men. The following were the cauſes of the revolution produced by the ſyſtem of uſurpation.

WHEN the French came to St. Vincent, they brought ſlaves along with them, to clear and till the ground. The black Caribs, ſhocked at the thoughts of reſembling men who were degraded by ſlavery, and fearing that ſome time or other their colour, which betrayed their origin, might be made a pretence for enſlaving them, took refuge in the thickeſt parts of the foreſt. In this

ſituation,

ſituation, in order to imprint an indelible mark of diſtinction upon their tribe, that might be a perpetual token of their independence, they flattened the foreheads of all their children as ſoon as they were born. The men and women, whoſe heads could not bend to this ſtrange ſhape, dared no longer appear in public without this viſible ſign of freedom. The next generation appeared as a new race. The flat-headed Caribs, who were nearly of the ſame age, tall proper men, hardy and fierce, came and erected huts by the ſea-ſide.

THEY no ſooner knew the price which the Europeans ſet upon the lands they inhabited, than they claimed a ſhare with the other iſlanders. This riſing ſpirit of covetouſneſs was at firſt appeaſed by ſome preſents of brandy, and a few ſabres. But not content with theſe, they ſoon demanded fire-arms, as the red Caribs had; and at laſt they were deſirous of having their ſhare in all future ſales of land, and likewiſe in the produce of paſt ſales. Provoked at being denied a part in this brotherly repartition, they formed into a ſeparate tribe, ſwore never more to aſſociate with the red Caribs, choſe a chief of their own, and declared war.

THE numbers of the combatants might be equal, but their ſtrength was not ſo. The black Caribs had every advantage over the red, that induſtry, valour, and boldneſs, muſt ſoon acquire over a weak habit and a timorous diſpoſition. But that ſpirit of equity, which is ſeldom deficient in ſavages, made the conqueror conſent to ſhare

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with the vanquiſhed all the territory lying to the leeward. It was the only one which both parties were deſirous of poſſeſſing, becauſe there they were ſure of receiving preſents from the French.

THE black Caribs gained nothing by the agreement which they themſelves had draw'n up. The new planters who came to the iſland, always landed and ſettled near the red Caribs, where the coaſt was moſt acceſſible. This preference rouſed that enmity which was but ill-extinguiſhed. The war broke out again. The red Caribs, who were always beaten, retired to windward of the iſland. Many took to their canoes, and went over to the continent, or to Tabago; and the few that remained, lived ſeparate from the Blacks.

THE black Caribs, conquerors and maſters of all the leeward coaſt, required of the Europeans that they ſhould again buy the lands they had already purchaſed. A Frenchman attempted to ſhew the deed of his purchaſe of ſome land which he had bought of a red Carib; *I know not*, ſays a black Carib, *what thy paper ſays; but read what is written on my arrow. There you may ſee, in characters which do not lie, that if you do not give me what I demand, I will go and burn your houſe to-night.* In this manner did a people who had not learnt to read, argue with thoſe who derived ſuch conſequence from knowing how to write. They made uſe of the right of force, with as much aſſurance, and as little remorſe, as if they had been acquainted with divine, political, and civil right.

TIME,

TIME, which brings on a change of meaſures with a change of intereſts, put an end to theſe diſturbances. The French became, in their turn, the ſtrongeſt. They no longer ſpent their time in breeding poultry, and cultivating vegetables, caſſava, maize, and tobacco, in order to ſell them at Martinico. In leſs than twenty years, more important cultures employed eight hundred white men, and three thouſand Blacks. Such was the ſituation of St. Vincent when it fell into the hands of the Engliſh; and was ſecured to them by the treaty of 1763.

St. Vincent falls into the hands of the Engliſh. State of the iſland under their dominion.

THIS iſland, which may have forty leagues in circumference, is mountainous, but interſected by excellent vallies, and watered by a few rivers. It was in the weſtern part of it that the French had begun the culture of cacao and of cotton, and had made conſiderable advances in that of coffee. The conquerors formed there ſome ſugar plantations. The impoſſibility of multiplying them upon an uneven ſoil, which is full of ravines, made them deſirous of occupying the plains towards the Eaſt. The ſavages, who had taken refuge there, refuſed to quit them; and recourſe was had to arms to compel them to it. The reſiſtance which they oppoſed to the thunders of European tyranny, was not, and could not poſſibly be maintained without great difficulty.

AN officer was meaſuring out the ground which had juſt been taken poſſeſſion of, when the detachment that accompanied him was unexpectedly attacked, and almoſt totally deſtroyed,

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on the 25th of March 1775. It was generally believed that the unfortunate perſons who had juſt been deprived of their poſſeſſions, were the authors of this violence; and the troops put themſelves in motion to deſtroy them.

FORTUNATELY, it was determined in time, that the Caribs were innocent; that they had taken or maſſacred ſeveral fugitive ſlaves who had been guilty of ſuch cruelties; and that they had ſwor'n not to ſtop till they had purged the iſland of thoſe vagabonds, whoſe enormities were often imputed to them. In order to confirm the ſavages in this reſolution, by the allurement of rewards, the legiſlative body paſſed a bill to inſure a gratuity of five moïdes, or 120 livres *, to any one who ſhould bring the head of a Negro, who ſhould have deſerted within three months.

GREAT BRITAIN hath not hitherto gained any great advantage from theſe barbarities. St. Vincent ſtill reckons no more than five hundred white men, and ſeven or eight thouſand Negroes. Their labours yield no more than twelve hundred quintals of cotton, ſix millions weight of very fine ſugar, and three hundred and ſixty thouſand gallons of rum. Theſe productions grow upon a very light kind of ſoil, and which for that reaſon, it is thought, will be ſoon exhauſted. This is an opinion generally received in America; and it will be proper to examine whether it be well founded.

* 5 l.

UNDOUBTEDLY,

UNDOUBTEDLY, the rains which fall in torrents upon a broken country, muſt more readily carry away a ſandy ſoil than a clayey one, the particles of which ſhall adhere more ſtrongly to each other. But is it underſtood in what manner a ſoil can be exhauſted? Can it be by the loſs of thoſe earthy particles, into which the plants it produces are at length reduced, and of which it ſeems to be deprived, when the plants do not rot upon the ſpot where they have been cultivated? In anſwer to this, it is proved from the experiments of Van Helmont, that plants do not take away any ſenſible weight from the ſoil; and that it is the moiſture with which the earth is watered, that is the only cauſe of vegetation. If this exhauſting of the ſoil be ſuppoſed to ariſe from the loſs of the ſalts which it furniſhes for the ſucceſſive growth of the plants, it is equally proved, by the numerous experiments of M. Tillet, and of ſeveral other natural philoſophers, that the ground is nothing more than a matrix, in which the germina of plants receive their growth, which they ſeem only to derive from heat and moiſture. All theſe experiments collected, ſeem alſo to prove, that the water alone, whether conveyed by natural or artificial means, contains all the ſalts, and all the principles that are to concur in producing this growth.

LET us therefore content ourſelves with ſaying, that ſuch or ſuch a ſpecies of earth may be more or leſs eaſily put into a ſtate fit to receive and to preſerve the quantity of water neceſſary for completing vegetation. The moſt trifling la-

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labour ſtirs up a light ſoil: it is then eaſily penetrated by the ſlighteſt rain: but a hard rain preſſes it together, and the ſun eaſily raiſing the moiſture, which in this ſtate of compreſſion it could only imbibe to a very little depth, deprives it of the only ſpecies of nouriſhment which it furniſhed to the plant, and without which the plant could not ſubſiſt. Nevertheleſs, the ſeaſon is not called in queſtion; and much leſs the ignorance of him who knows not how to moderate it's effects. Prejudice determines the ſoil to be exhauſted and ruined. In future, it is worked only with regret, and conſequently very ill. It is abandoned, while nothing more was wanting, than a proper ſpecies of culture to enrich the proprietor who neglects it.

A SOMEWHAT leſs degree of friability conſtitutes what is called a ſtrong ſoil, which requires more tillage, and of a more laborious nature: but when once it is prepared, manured, and watered, the ſtiff ſoil preſerves for a much longer time it's moiſture, which is a neceſſary vehicle of the ſalts, whether they be continually conveyed, and ſucceſſively renewed by the rains, or by artificial watering.

OF what uſe then, it will be ſaid, is dung? It ſerves to raiſe up more eaſily, and more generally, the ſoil, by the fermentation which it excites in it, and to keep it for a longer time raiſed and ſupplied, either by it's active particles, which can only unfold themſelves gradually in the compact ſoils, ſuch as thoſe of the ſecond ſpecies, which are divided by heating them, or by it's

oily particles, which fattening the ſoil of the firſt ſpecies, retain in it, for a longer time, the moiſture which it's too great laxity, and the incoherence of it's particles would ſoon allow to eſcape.

DUNG, therefore, properly applied, and according to it's quality, partly ſupplies the place of tillage: but can tillage ſupply the place of dung? We are inclined to think it would not for light ſoils, which, fortunately, require but little dunging; but we believe it would in ſtrong ſoils, and theſe require a great deal of dung. But nothing can ſupply the place of rain; which, in America, when it is plentiful, renders all the ſoils nearly equal. Some fruits brought forward by the ſeaſon, rot in the moſt excellent ſoils: but almoſt all of them arrive at perfection in the moſt ordinary ſoils. In America there is no rainy ſeaſon which is not fruitful; while, in a dry ſeaſon, the income diminiſhes ſometimes by one half.

THE only object that deſerves the attention of the inhabitants of St. Vincent's, as well as of all perſons who are in poſſeſſion of a light ſoil, in whatever zone it may be ſituated, muſt therefore be to fix their plantations upon their loweſt mountains, to prefer the culture of ſuch plants as will cover the ſoil ſooneſt, and will leave it leſs expoſed to the immediate ſhock of heavy rains, which compreſs it more and more when it is not tilled; and which drag it away when it is prepared; to chuſe eſpecially, that plan of cultivation, which, while it ſhall not counteract the efforts of the plant too much, ſhall ſupply it with a degree of growth neceſſary to

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defend the ſoil, at the time when it ſtands moſt in need of it, in that ſeaſon when it would be in danger of being ſtripped, in proceſs of time, down to the ſand. While the ſoil ſhall remain covered with any kind of earth, we need not fear it's being barren. The ſoil which hath once been ſufficient for the nutrition of any plant, when brought into it's primitive ſtate by the care of the cultivator, will for ever be ſufficient for the ſame purpoſes.

Great Britain takes poſſeſſion of Dominica.

DOMINICA was inhabited by it's own children. In 1732 nine hundred and thirty-eight Caribs were found there, diſtributed in thirty-two carbets; and three hundred and forty-nine Frenchmen occupied a part of the coaſt, which the ſavages had left to them. Theſe Europeans had no other aſſiſtance, or rather companions of their labours, except twenty-three free Mulattoes, and three hundred and thirty-eight ſlaves. They were all employed in breeding poultry, in raiſing proviſions for the conſumption of Martinico, and in cultivating ſeventy-two thouſand two hundred cotton ſhrubs. Theſe trifling productions were afterwards increaſed by the addition of coffee. At length the iſland, at the peace of 1763, when it became an Engliſh poſſeſſion, reckoned ſix hundred white people, and two thouſand Negroes.

SINCE the end of the laſt century, Great Britain, which was advancing towards the dominion of the ſeas, while ſhe accuſed France of aſpiring to the monarchy of the continent, had ſhewed as much eagerneſs for Dominica, as ſhe had in the late

late negociations, when victory gave her a right to chooſe. Nine pariſhes have ſucceſſively been eſtabliſhed upon this iſland, where, on the 1ſt of January 1778, the population conſiſted of fifteen hundred and ſeventy-four white people, men, women, and children; five hundred and ſeventy-four Mulattoes, or free Negroes, and fourteen thouſand three hundred and eight ſlaves.

The cattle of the iſland did not exceed two hundred and eighty-eight horſes, ſeven hundred and ſeven mules, thirty-four aſſes, eighteen hundred and thirty head of horned cattle, nine hundred and ninety-nine hogs, and two thouſand two hundred and twenty-nine ſheep, or goats.

It's cultures conſiſted of ſixty-five ſugar plantations, which occupied five thouſand two hundred and fifty-ſeven acres of ground. Three thouſand three hundred and ſixty-nine acres planted with coffee, at the proportion of one thouſand feet per acre. Two hundred and ſeventy-ſeven acres planted with cacao, at the proportion of five hundred feet per acre. Fourſcore and nine acres, planted with cotton, at the proportion of one thouſand feet per acre. Sixty-nine acres of indigo, and ſixty trees of black caſſia.

It's proviſions conſiſted of twelve hundred and two acres of banana trees, ſixteen hundred and forty-ſeven acres of yams or potatoes, and two thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty-nine trenches of manioc.

Nineteen thouſand four hundred and ſeventy-eight acres were taken up by the woods; four thouſand two hundred and ninety-ſix by paſtu-

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rages and ſavannas; three thouſand ſix hundred and fifty-five acres were reſerved for the crown, and three thouſand four hundred and thirty-four were entirely barren.

THIS was all that fifteen years of labour had been able to effect upon a ſoil which was exceedingly hilly, and not very fertile.

Diſturbances between the Engliſh of Dominica, and the French of the neighbouring iſlands.

THIS ſettlement was expoſed in it's infancy to a moſt flagrant act of diſhoneſty. Several of the planters had obtained conſiderable advances from trade. To avoid paying their debts, they took refuge, with their ſlaves, in the French iſlands, where an open protection was granted them. In vain were they claimed; in vain was it required that they ſhould be compelled to ſatisfy their creditors: every ſolicitation was uſeleſs. The legiſlative body then made a law, which ſecured to all French emigrants the advantage of enjoying, without moleſtation, all the riches they ſhould bring into Dominica.

LET us examine without partiality the conduct of the two nations, and we ſhall find it faulty on both ſides.

AND firſt, with reſpect to the French, let me aſk them, if theſe refugees were not at the ſame time thieves? Why therefore did they grant them an aſylum? Why did they refuſe to give them up, when they were claimed? Let us even ſuppoſe that the requiſition had been made in an imperious manner; the buſineſs was to examine the juſtice of the claim, not the manner in which it was made. This was not an occaſion in which it was proper to give a petulant anſwer to a haughty

haughty demand. An action which we are urged to by juſtice, can never be humiliating. Let the French, for a moment, put themſelves in the place of the creditors, and tell me, whether they would not have ſent to the court of London the ſame repreſentations, and the ſame complaints? and whether they would not have been equally exaſperated by it's ſilence, or by it's refuſal? There cannot be two ſyſtems of juſtice.

On the other hand, when by way of repriſal the Engliſh offered an aſylum to the French emigrants, did they not double the ſame fault? Did they not excite to robbery and to deſertion thoſe fraudulent debtors who were inclined to eſcape from the legal purſuit of their creditors? If the nations, who divided the New World among themſelves, had adopted, in imitation of them, the ſame meaſures, who would have advanced to their coloniſts the ſums they might have wanted? What would have become of America, if this pernicious ſyſtem had manifeſted itſelf at the origin of the conqueſts? What would ſtill become of it, if it were univerſally adopted? Let us reflect a moment, and we ſhall be convinced, that a general ſuſpenſion of juſtice would become one of the moſt dreadful calamities that could poſſibly afflict mankind. We ſhall perceive, that ſo fatal an agreement among nations, would bring the world back to that ſtate of plundering and barbariſm of which we have not even an idea. What advantage will the Engliſh find, in infeſting themſelves with our villains, and in ſending their's to us? What concern can we have,

or what confidence can we repoſe, in men who are deſtitute of faith towards their fellow-citizens? Do the Engliſh expect more honeſty from our's? If they receive them, why ſhould a third nation expell them? Is it intended that perfidy ſhould wander, with impunity, from one country to another, and ſpread itſelf over the whole ſurface of the globe? I may perhaps exaggerate the conſequences of this proceeding: but in order to judge properly of an action, we muſt conſider the utmoſt extent of it's effects. This is a certain way of impreſſing the mind more forcibly with them.

But I may be aſked, in what manner ſhould the Engliſh have acted? In the firſt inſtance, they were right in making the demand. Afterwards, they ſhould have gone down ſword in hand into the aſylums of their deſerters, and ſhould have laid them waſte. Thus it is that they would have ſhew'n themſelves brave and upright men. The blood that would have been ſpilt would not have been imputed to them; and they would have been applauded by all the people of Europe, intereſted in the ſame cauſe.

We need not however be ſurpriſed that both the Engliſh and French ſhould reciprocally grant a retreat to their malefactors, when we daily ſee them arrogating to themſelves the right of ſending them to each other, by baniſhing them from their own country: a law, which is as contrary to the common right, as that which ſhould authoriſe a citizen, whoſe dog ſhould run mad, to let him looſe in the houſe of his neighbour, would be contrary to the right of individuals.

But a man who has two hands, is always a ſpecies of valuable property.——He ought therefore not to be concealed.——It may alſo be urged, that we have ſome reaſon to expect, ſince there are a few inſtances of it, that a wicked man may amend.——It is true, there may be one inſtance in a hundred of ſuch an amendment.——But the queſtion is, whether for the chance of having one bad man who may forſake his evil ways, it be prudent to keep a hundred incorrigible villains.

In what conſiſts the importance of Dominica?

There was however another diſtant object, excluſive of the care of ſettling plantations, which entered into the extenſive views of the Engliſh. They wiſhed to attract the productions of the French colonies to Dominica, in order that they might ſecure the trade of them to themſelves. It was to carry this great project into execution, that, in 1766, all the ports of the iſland were made free. A number of active and enterprizing men immediately came from Europe, and from North America. Immenſe ſtores of corn, ſalt fiſh, and ſlaves, were formed at Roſeau. This town ſupplied the wants of Martinico, of Guadalupe, and of St. Lucia; and received in payment, commodities of greater or leſs value. Theſe exchanges would have been even more conſiderable, if by an ill-judged avidity of the treaſury, Great Britain had not herſelf put a reſtraint upon theſe fraudulent connections.

The events which have detached the American continent from England, and the efforts which the French are making to extend their connections

in Africa, muſt ſoon reduce the ſtaple of Dominica to nothing, or to a trifle; but it can never be deprived of the advantage of it's poſition. Situated between Guadalupe and Martinico, at only ſeven leagues diſtance from each, it threatens them equally. At both it's extremities, to the North and to the South, are two excellent harbours, from whence the privateers and the fleets may intercept the navigation between the mother-country and it's colonies, and even the communication between the two ſettlements. What would be the conſequence if the northern port, know'n by the name of Prince Rupert, were changed, as it might eaſily be, into a harbour, and ſurrounded with fortifications? This plan, it is ſaid, hath been determined upon in the council of George III. Every circumſtance induces us to believe that it will never be carried into execution; the nation hath too much confidence in it's naval forces, ever to incur ſuch an expence.

Laws peculiar to Dominica.

DOMINICA, in theſe latter times, hath draw'n the attention of all America, by an event, the cauſes of which may almoſt be traced as far back as the diſcovery of the New World.

SCARCE had the Europeans marked the ſoil of the other hemiſphere with their ſanguinary ſteps, than it became neceſſary to procure ſlaves from Africa, in order to clear it. Women were found among this degraded race, whom the ſcarcity of females rendered agreeable to the firſt coloniſts. From this alliance, which ſeemed to be reprobated by nature, there aroſe a mixt generation, whoſe

whoſe chains were often broken by paternal tenderneſs. A ſentiment of goodneſs, innate in man, gave liberty, on ſome occaſions, to other ſlaves; and a ſtill greater number of captives purchaſed their freedom. In vain did a ſuſpicious and provident ſyſtem of policy exclaim, with vehemence, againſt this cuſtom, applauded by humanity: the beſtowing of freedom upon ſlaves was ſtill continued; and even became more frequent.

The freed men, however, were not put upon an entire equality with their former maſters. The laws generally imprinted a mark of inferiority on this claſs of men. They were ſtill more degraded by prejudice, in the frequent occurrences of civil life. Their ſituation was never any thing more than an intermediate ſtate between ſlavery and original liberty.

Diſtinctions ſo humiliating filled the minds of theſe freed-men with rage. The ſlave is commonly in ſo abject a ſtate, that he doth not dare to defy his tyrant; he can do nothing more than hate him. But the heart of a man whoſe chains have been ſhaken off, hath a greater degree of energy; he both hates, and bids defiance to the white men.

The dangerous effects of theſe ſiniſter diſpoſitions ſhould have been prevented. In the ſocieties of Europe, where all the members are equals, where the intereſt of each individual is the intereſt of the whole community; we are not allowed to ſuppoſe that a citizen would intentionally do any thing injurious to the general good, unleſs

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unleſs there are ſtrong proofs of it. But in America, where an enormous and ſingular body of men, divided in opinions, is compoſed of three different claſſes, it is thought right to ſacrifice the two laſt to the ſecurity of the former. The ſlaves are kept in a perpetual ſtate of oppreſſion, and the freedmen are throw'n into priſon upon the ſlighteſt ſuſpicion. Their averſion for the white people is conſidered as a delinquency of a very ſerious nature, and juſtifies, in the eyes of authority, all the precautions that are taken againſt them. It is to this ſtrange ſeverity that moſt of the nations have wiſhed to attribute the kind of tranquillity which they have enjoyed in their ſettlements in the New World.

In the Engliſh colonies alone the free Negro is upon the ſame footing as the white man. The ſtrongeſt preſumptions are not ſufficient to authorize an attack upon the liberty of the one, any more than of the other. Hence it happens that the law, which is very cautious, for fear of a miſtake, in fixing upon the criminal, ſometimes remains inactive for a longer time than is conſiſtent with the public advantage. The freedmen have ſometimes abuſed theſe indulgences in the Britiſh iſlands; and their ſeditious commotions have obliged Dominica to alter it's ſyſtem.

It was determined, by a bill paſſed in the month of September 1774, that no coloniſt ſhould, for the future, be allowed to grant liberty to any ſlave, before he had paid 100 piſtoles * into the

* 41 l. 13 s. 4 d.

public

public treaſury. But if the freedman could afterwards prove that he could not gain a ſubſiſtence by his labour, he was to receive 80 livres * every ſix months, till he ſhould be enabled, by more favourable circumſtances, to do without this aſſiſtance.

EVERY freedman, convicted by the depoſition of two witneſſes, either free or ſlaves, before two juſtices of the peace, of being guilty of any offence that is not capital, is to be whipped, or to pay a fine, or to be impriſoned, according as the magiſtrates ſhall determine. The ſame puniſhments are to be inflicted upon him for having diſturbed the public peace, or for having inſulted, threatened, or beaten a white man.

A FREEDMAN who ſhall have aſſiſted a ſlave to deſert, who ſhall have granted an aſylum to him, or accepted of his ſervices, ſhall be condemned to a fine of 2000 livres †, to be applied to public uſe. If the culprit ſhould be unable to pay the ſum, he ſhall undergo three months impriſonment, or be whipped, according to the deciſion of the juſtices of the peace.

NO free Negro, Mulatto, or Meſtee, ſhall be allowed to vote at the election of a repreſentative of his pariſh, in the general aſſembly of the colony. Neither protection nor fortune can ever efface this mark of reprobation.

AFTER having given a ſeparate account of each of the three neutral iſlands which England acquired by the treaty of 1763, it is incumbent upon

Plan conceived by the Britiſh miniſtry to render flouriſhing the three iſlands

* 3l. 6s. 8d. † 83l. 6s. 8d.

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which were formerly neutral.

upon us to ſtate the means which that power hath thought proper to employ, in order to derive ſolid advantages from their proſperity.

At firſt, government thought proper to ſell the different portions of the extenſive ſoil which the ſucceſs of the war had given to them. Had they been gratuitouſly beſtowed, they would have been obtained by favour and intrigue; and they would not have been uſeful for a long time. But the nation was well convinced, that every citizen who ſhould have employed part of his capital in the acquiſition of an eſtate, would not fail to lay out upon it what was neceſſary for him to make the moſt of his property.

It might, however, be improper to exact the immediate payment of the ceded lands, becauſe the new plantations require ſuch great expences in buildings, in cattle, and in ſlaves. On this account, it was ſettled, that the purchaſer ſhould not be obliged to pay more than twenty per cent. in the firſt inſtance, ten per cent. the two following years, and afterwards twenty per cent. every year after, till the payment was completed. He was to be diveſted of all his privileges, if he did not fulfil his engagements at the ſtated periods.

In order to ſoften what might appear too ſevere in this law, the planter was allowed to change this debt into a perpetual annuity; and even the firſt payment was not to begin till a twelvemonth after the clearing of the land.

As the vaſt extent of the eſtates had viſibly diminiſhed the maſs of the productions in the iſlands, which

which England had poſſeſſed for a long time, it was thought proper to take meaſures to avoid this inconvenience in the new acquiſitions. It was decreed, that no perſon ſhould be allowed to purchaſe more than one plantation; and that the largeſt of them ſhould not exceed five hundred acres. It was even limited to three hundred for Dominica, the poſition and deſtination of which required a greater number of Europeans. Government alſo decreed, that five of every hundred acres ſhould be annually cleared, till half the plantation ſhould be cultivated; and that thoſe who ſhould not have fulfilled this obligation ſhould pay a fine of 112 livres ten ſols * annually, for every acre of ground which ſhould not have been cultivated in the limited time. Every coloniſt was obliged alſo to put one white man, or two white women, upon every hundred acres of his territory, under the penalty of paying every year to the treaſury 900 livres † for every man, and half of that ſum for every woman, that ſhould be wanting to make up the number he ought to have.

This laſt precaution might give ſome conſiſtence to the new ſettlements; but it was thought they would one day ſtand in need of further aſſiſtance. In order to procure it for them in time, gratuitous conceſſions of land, from ten to thirty acres, have been granted in favour of the poor who chuſe to ſettle in thoſe iſlands. This was a ſufficient portion of land to enable them to

* 4 l. 13 s. 9 d. † 37 l. 10 s.

live

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live by their labour, in thoſe eaſy circumſtances which they would never have experienced in the Old Hemiſphere. From an apprehenſion that they might lend their name to ſome rapacious man, or might afterwards ſell their property to him, it was ordained, that they ſhould themſelves take poſſeſſion of the land three months after it had been granted to them; that they ſhould dwell upon it for twelve months conſecutively; and that they ſhould keep it for ſeven whole years. After this time, they were to pay a fine of 12 ſols * for every acre which ſhould be cultivated, and one of 12 livres 5 ſols † for thoſe which ſhould remain uncultivated.

The Engliſh iſlands had for a long while complained of the want of rain, becauſe all their foreſts had been levelled. In order to prevent this inconvenience in the new poſſeſſions, the commiſſaries were ordered to preſerve for the crown a ſufficient quantity of the woods to attract the clouds, and to keep up that degree of moiſture which is more or leſs neceſſary for all the plants peculiar to America.

Laſtly, None of the ſums acquired by the ſale of the lands were to belong to government. They were all to be conſecrated to the harbours, to the fortifications, and to other objects of uſe in thoſe iſlands.

The fate of the French, reſiding in great numbers at Dominica and at St. Vincent, remained ſtill to be ſettled. Theſe planters were under

* 6 d. † 11 s. 8 d.

no

no kind of apprehenſion for their property. They had obtained or purchaſed it from the Indians, and had been confirmed in their poſſeſſion by the government of Martinico, who required of them a ſlight duty in return. The firſt of theſe titles could be of no weight in the eyes of a conquering power; and the ſecond was manifeſtly contrary to the conventions between the courts of London and of Verſailles, who had engaged themſelves not to allow their reſpective ſubjects to ſettle in the neutral iſlands.

THE expectations, therefore, of thoſe active men, who would have accelerated the progreſs of the two colonies which they themſelves had founded, were entirely fruſtrated. Whether the Britiſh miniſtry were apprehenſive of diſguſting the Engliſh, in obliging them to pay for a territory, which their antient rivals continued to poſſeſs gratuitouſly; or whether a wiſh prevailed of getting rid of thoſe foreigners, who, by their religion and their habits, might be too ſtrongly attached to their former country, it was regulated, that the French ſhould, for the future, enjoy their plantations only upon perpetual leaſes.

THIS hard reſtraint, ſo contrary to the maxims of ſound policy, diſperſed them. The emigration was not, however, univerſal. After the firſt effects of diſſatisfaction, the wiſeſt of them became ſenſible that they ſhould ſtill gain more by repurchaſing the lands which they already enjoyed, than if they were to ſettle upon a freſh ſpot that would coſt them nothing.

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Obſtacles which have prevented the proſperity of the neutral iſlands.

GREAT BRITAIN entertained great expectations from the meaſures which ſhe had taken for the proſperity of her conqueſts. The ſucceſs hath not been anſwerable; and the cauſes of this ſingular diſappointment are well know'n.

THE three neutral iſlands were ſcarce ſecured to England by the treaties, than it became a general paſſion to form ſettlements upon them. This epidemical madneſs made the lands which were ſold by government riſe to an extravagant price. As a bold ſpirit of enterprize was the only fortune moſt of the purchaſers had, credit became their only reſource. They found it in London, and in ſome other trading places, the merchants of which, miſled by the ſame illuſion, borrowed conſiderable ſums at a low intereſt, in order to lend them to theſe enterpriſing ſpeculators at an advanced intereſt.

THE new proprietors, moſt of whom had purchaſed a ſoil, without taking the trouble of examining it, proceeded with the ſame levity in the formation of their plantations. The coaſts, and the interior parts of the iſlands, were ſoon covered with maſters and ſlaves, equally inexperienced in the laborious and difficult art of clearing the lands. This occaſioned numberleſs faults and misfortunes. The evil became extreme, and ſoon broke out.

THE coloniſts had borrowed at eight per cent. in 1766, or about that period, and the loan was to be paid five years after. The impoſſibility they found of fulfilling theſe engagements alarmed their

their European creditors. Disappointed of the remittances they expected, these rapacious lenders were at length undeceived; and the greater their credulity had been, the more active did their anxiety become. Having recourse to the authority of the law, they expelled from their plantations the unhappy men who had been unfortunately seduced by rash expectations. Thus ended the delusive prospect of the new English colonies.

But this great commotion must be attended with favourable consequences. The manures undertaken by men without powers, and who are reduced to their original poverty, will procure to the nation the same advantages that usually result from an irregular and disorderly ferment in the state. A soil which languished in the hands of the first possessors, will be cultivated with better means, with more intelligence and œconomy. While we are expecting the effects of this new effort of industry and activity, let us resume the account of the English possessions in the American Archipelago. To ascertain the value of the colonies of a maritime and commercial power, is to make an estimate of it's strength.

Present state of the English islands.

The British islands in the West Indies are in general more extensive than they are fertile. Mountains, which cannot be cultivated, occupy a great space in some of them, and others are entirely, or partly, formed of a chalky soil, which produces but very little. The best have been cleared for a long time, and require the assistance of manures, which are imperfect and scarce in

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this part of the New World. Moſt of them have been ſtripped of the foreſts, by which they were originally ſheltered, and are expoſed to droughts, which often ruin the labours undertaken with the ſtricteſt attention, and carried on at a great expence.

ACCORDINGLY, the increaſe of proviſions hath not been proportioned to the number of hands employed in obtaining them. There are at this time in thoſe colonies four hundred thouſand ſlaves, who by their labours ſcarce produce two thirds of the income that is collected from a richer ſoil with the ſame means.

THE number of white people hath generally diminiſhed in proportion to the increaſe of the Negroes. Not but that there were as many idle or indigent men in England to replace thoſe who periſhed, or who diſappeared with the fortunes they had acquired, as at the time of the firſt emigration; but the ſpirit of adventure, which the novelty of the object, and the concurrence of circumſtances had excited, was either checked or annihilated. On one hand, the ſpace which was occupied by the ſmaller cultures hath been ſucceſſively filled with ſugar plantations, which require an immenſe extent of territory; and on the other, the proprietors of theſe great plantations have reduced, as much as poſſible, the number of their agents, whoſe ſalaries were become a heavy burthen.

SINCE this revolution, the Britiſh iſlands have ſtill greater reaſon than ever to be apprehenſive of plunder and of invaſion. Their coloniſts, who

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are all enliſted, were formerly ſtrong enough at leaſt to repel a weak and ill-armed enemy. Moſt of them might at preſent be taken by ſurprize, ſhould the navy of the mother country ceaſe one moment to protect them. It is a great point, if in the preſent ſtate the militia are able to contain the Negroes, who are more unfortunate under the Engliſh dominion than under any other. For it ſhould ſeem, that the hardſhips of ſlavery were ſo much the greater among free nations, in proportion as it is more unjuſt, and more foreign to the conſtitution. Such is the progreſs of man towards independence, that after having ſhaken off the yoke, he wiſhes to impoſe it upon others; and that thoſe who are the moſt impatient of ſervitude become the fondeſt of dominion!

The Weſt Indies were never ſubjected to any impoſt by Great Britain. But in 1663, Barbadoes, and the other iſlands, except Jamaica, voluntarily engaged to pay a perpetual tax of four per cent. upon all their productions which ſhould be exported. So great an act of generoſity hath ſince appeared burdenſome, and the weight of it was alleviated as much as poſſible. As this obligation is paid in commodities, there are ſcarce any delivered to government except ſuch as are in ſome reſpect faulty, and the coloniſts are not more ſcrupulous with regard to their weight than to their quality. Thus it is that the treaſury receives only two thirds of the gift which was formerly granted to them

This is ſtill too much for ſettlements that are obliged to defray their internal expences themſelves,

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ſelves. Theſe were very conſiderable when thoſe colonies regulated all their own affairs, or erected the fortifications judged neceſſary for their ſecurity. The taxes were multiplied at this period; and every diſagreeable event brought on freſh ones, becauſe it was thought more prudent to require contributions of the citizens, than to have recourſe to public engagements. Time hath diminiſhed the wants, and it has been found neceſſary to provide for thoſe which remained, with more œconomy, becauſe the planters have not the ſame reſources. The taxes are at preſent inconſiderable, and they might ſtill be reduced, if thoſe who fill the poſts of adminiſtration, in manifeſt contradiction to the republican ſpirit, which is that of diſintereſtedneſs, did not require large ſalaries.

But this is an unavoidable inconvenience attending a commercial nation. Whether free or not, they ultimately love or value nothing but wealth. The thirſt of gold being more the work of imagination than of neceſſity, we are not ſatiated with riches, as we are with the objects that gratify our other paſſions. The latter are diſtinct and tranſient; they either counteract or ſucceed each other; whereas the thirſt of gold feeds and ſatisfies all the other paſſions, at leaſt it ſupplies their place, in proportion as it exhauſts them, by the means it contributes towards the gratification of them. There is no habit which is more confirmed by cuſtom than that of amaſſing riches. It ſeems equally to be excited by the enjoyments of vanity, and by the ſelf-denial of

avarice.

avarice. The rich man always wants to fill or to increaſe his treaſure. This is a conſtant obſervation, which extends from individuals to nations.

SINCE large fortunes have been raiſed in England by trade, the deſire of wealth is become the univerſal and ruling paſſion. Such citizens as have not been able, or did not chuſe to follow this lucrative profeſſion, have ſtill turned their views to that gain which the manners and opinion of the times have made neceſſary. Even in aſpiring to honours, they hunt after riches. In following the career of thoſe laws and virtues, which ought ever mutually to aſſiſt each other, even in obtaining the honour of a ſeat in parliament, they have found out the way of aggrandizing their fortune. In order to be choſen members of this powerful body, they have bribed the votes of the people; and have not been more aſhamed of ſelling theſe very people to the court, than they were of having bought them. Every vote in the ſenate of the empire is become venal. A celebrated miniſter had a book of rates of the probity of each member, and openly boaſted of it, to the diſgrace of the Engliſh. It was the duty of his office, he ſaid, to buy off the repreſentatives of the nation, in order that they ſhould vote, not againſt, but according to their conſcience. But what can conſcience avail againſt the allurements of gain? If the mercantile ſpirit hath been able to diffuſe in the mother-country the contagion of perſonal intereſt, how is it poſſible that it ſhould not have infected the colonies of which it is the principal and the ſupport? Is

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Is it then true, that in proud Albion, a man who ſhould be generous enough to ſerve his country for the mere love of glory, would be conſidered as a man of another world, and of the laſt age? Vain-glorious iſland, may thine enemies renounce this ſordid ſpirit of intereſt, and thou wilt one day reſtore to them all they have loſt!

Nevertheless, opulence ſeems to prevail in the Engliſh ſettlements in the Weſt Indies. This is becauſe the proceedings of arbitrary authority, which afflict ſo many other countries, are unknow'n here: becauſe there are none of thoſe vile inſtruments of the treaſury, who deſtroy the baſis of property, in order to eſtabliſh the forms of it: becauſe the culture of ſugar hath been ſubſtituted there, to that of productions of little value: becauſe the plantations belong in general to rich men, or to powerful aſſociations, which never ſuffer them to want the neceſſary means for their improvement: becauſe if ſome unfortunate caſualty ſhould reduce the coloniſt to the neceſſity of borrowing, he obtains the loan eaſily, and at a cheap rate; for his poſſeſſions are mortgaged to his creditor, and the payment is ſecured at the ſtated times: becauſe theſe iſlands are leſs expoſed to devaſtation and invaſion, than the poſſeſſions of other powers, that are rich in productions, and poor in ſhips: becauſe the events of the moſt obſtinate and moſt deſtructive wars never prevent, and ſeldom retard, the exportation of their commodities: in a word, it is becauſe the Britiſh ports always open to their principal crops a more advantageous mart than their rivals can

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expect any where elſe. Accordingly, the lands conſtantly bear a very high price in the Engliſh iſlands, both the Europeans and the Americans being equally eager to purchaſe them.

These lands would ſtill have been in greater requeſt, if the acceſs to the Weſt Indies had been leſs rigidly prohibited to foreign navigators; if they had been at liberty to chuſe their own purchaſers throughout the globe. But a ſet of laws, the regulations of which it hath never been poſſible to elude, have concentrated their connections within the limits of their own empire, with the national provinces of both hemiſpheres.

These colonies do not find upon their own territory, either proviſion for their own ſubſiſtence, or beaſts of burthen for their labours, or woods for their buildings. They were ſupplied with theſe objects of primary neceſſity by North America, which received in payment rum and other productions, to the amount of three or four millions of livres * every year. The troubles which have divided Old and New England have interrupted this communication, to the great detriment of the iſlands. Till neceſſities of an urgent nature ſhall cauſe it to be opened again, or till other connections ſhall be formed, to be ſubſtituted to it, the Weſt Indies will have no other vent for their productions than that which Great Britain will furniſh them.

At the preſent period, England receives annually from the iſlands ſhe occupies in the Weſt

* From 125,000l. to 166,666l. 13s. 4d.

Indies,

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Indies, to the amount of about ninety-three millions of livres * in commodities, including ſixteen or ſeventeen millions † which they pay to government, and the rum which Ireland receives directly in payment for the ſalt proviſions which it furniſhes to the colonies.

Almost all the ſugar, which forms three-fourths of the produce of the iſlands, is conſumed in the kingdom itſelf, or is carried to Ireland. It is ſeldom that any of it is ſent to Hamburgh or to other markets.

The exports which Great Britain makes of the production of the iſlands, do not annually exceed ſeven or eight millions of livres ‡. If we add to this ſum what ſhe muſt gain upon her cottons, which ſhe manufactures with ſo much ſucceſs, and which are diffuſed throughout a great part of the globe, we ſhall have a tolerably exact idea of the advantages which this empire derives from the Weſt Indies.

The iſlands receive in payment their furniture and cloathing, the utenſils neceſſary for their manufactures, a great deal of hard ware, and ſlaves for the working of their lands. But the things that are ſent to them are infinitely inferior in value to thoſe which are received from them. We muſt deduct the expences of navigation and of inſurance, the commiſſion, or the profit of the merchant. We muſt deduct the intereſt of ſixteen millions ſterling, which theſe colonies owe

* 3,875,000 l.
† From 666,666 l. 13 s. 4 d. to 708,333 l. 6 s. 8 d.
‡ From 291,666 l. 13 s. 4 d. to 333,333 l. 6 s. 8 d.

to

to the mother-country. We muſt deduct what the proprietors of the rich plantations ſpend in England, where they habitually reſide. If we except the poſſeſſions acquired or ſecured by the treaties of 1763, the infant plantations of which are ſtill in want of advances, the other poſſeſſions of the Weſt Indies, ſcarce receive in their harbours the fourth part of the value which they ſend out from them.

It was the capital of the empire, which formerly ſent out almoſt all the exports, and received almoſt all the returns. Men of enlightened underſtanding were very properly incenſed at this evil. But London is at leaſt the fineſt port in England. It is there that ſhips are built, and manufactures are carried on. London furniſhes ſeamen for navigation, and hands for commerce. It ſtands in a temperate, fruitful, and central country. Every thing has a free paſſage in and out of it. It may be truly ſaid to be the heart of the body politic from it's local poſition. That city is not filled with proud and idle men, who only encumber and oppreſs a laborious people. It is the ſeat of the national aſſembly. There the king's palace is neither vaſt nor empty. He reigns in it by his preſence, which animates every thing. There the ſenate dictates the laws, agreeable to the ſenſe of the people it repreſents. It neither fears the eye of the monarch, nor the frowns of the miniſtry. London has not arrived to it's preſent greatneſs by the influence of government, which ſtrains and over-rules all natural cauſes; but by the ordinary impulſe of men

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and things, and by a kind of attraction of commerce. It is the ſea, it is England, it is the whole world that makes London rich and populous.

NEVERTHELESS this immenſe ſtaple hath loſt, in proceſs of time, ſomething of that ſpecies of monopoly which it exerciſed over the colonies and over the provinces. Briſtol, Liverpool, Lancaſter, and Glaſgow, have taken a conſiderable ſhare in this great circulation. A more general competition would even have been eſtabliſhed, if a new ſyſtem of manners, a diſlike for a retired life, the deſire of approaching the throne, and an effeminacy and corruption which have exceeded all bounds, had not collected at London, or within it's diſtrict, a third part of the population of the whole kingdom, and eſpecially the great conſumers.

Summary of the riches that Europe draws from the American iſlands.

THE hiſtory of the great American Archipelago cannot be better concluded, than by a recapitulation of the advantages it procures to thoſe powers which have ſucceſſively invaded it. It is only by the impulſe which the immenſe productions of this Archipelago have given to trade, that it muſt ever hold a diſtinguiſhed place in the annals of nations; ſince, in fact, riches are the ſpring of all the great revolutions that diſturb the globe. The colonies of Aſia Minor occaſioned both the ſplendour of that quarter of the earth and the downfal of Greece. Rome, which was at firſt deſirous of ſubduing nations only to govern them, was ſtopped in the progreſs of her greatneſs, when ſhe acquired the poſſeſſion of the treaſures of the

eaſt. War ſeemed to ſlumber for a while in Europe, in order to invade a New World: and has ſince been ſo often renewed there, merely to divide the ſpoils. Poverty, which will always be the lot of the greater part of mankind, and the choice of a few wiſe men, makes no diſturbance in the world. Hiſtory, therefore, can only treat of maſſacres or riches.

THE iſlands of the other hemiſphere yield annually fifteen millions of livres * to Spain; eight millions † to Denmark; thirty millions ‡ to Holland; eighty-two millions ‖ to England; and one hundred and twenty-ſix millions § to France. The productions therefore gathered in fields that were totally uncultivated within theſe three centuries, are ſold in our continent for about two hundred and ſixty-one millions of livres ¶.

THIS is not a gift that the New World makes to the Old. The people who receive this important fruit of the labour of their ſubjects ſettled in America, give in exchange, though with evident advantage to themſelves, the produce of their ſoil and of their manufactures. Some conſume the whole of what they draw from theſe diſtant poſſeſſions; others, make the overplus the baſis of a proſperous trade with their neighbours. Thus every nation that is poſſeſſed of property in the New World, if it be truly induſtrious, gains ſtill leſs by the number of men it maintains abroad

* 625,000 l.
† 333,333 l. 6 s. 8 d.
‡ 1,250,000 l.
‖ 3,416,666 l. 13 s. 4 d.
§ 5,250,000 l.
¶ 10,875,000 l.

without

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without any expence, than by the population which thoſe procure it at home. To ſubſiſt a colony in America, it is neceſſary to cultivate a province in Europe; and this additional labour increaſes the inward ſtrength and real wealth of the nation. The whole globe is ſenſible of this impulſe.

THE labours of the people ſettled in thoſe iſlands, are the ſole baſis of the African trade: they extend the fiſheries and the cultures of North America, afford a good market for the manufactures of Aſia, and double, perhaps treble, the activity af all Europe. They may be conſidered as the principal cauſe of the rapid motion which now agitates the univerſe. This ferment muſt increaſe, in proportion as cultures, that are ſo capable of being extended, ſhall approach nearer to their higheſt degree of perfection.

The beſt mode to be adopted for increaſing the productions of the American Archipelago.

NOTHING would be more likely to haſten this happy period, than to give up the excluſive trade, which every nation has reſerved to itſelf in it's own colonies. An unlimited freedom to trade with all the iſlands, would be productive of the greateſt efforts, by exciting a general competition. Men who are inſpired with the love of humanity, and are enlightened by that ſacred fire, have ever wiſhed to ſee every obſtacle removed that intercepts a direct communication of all the ports of America, with all thoſe of Europe. The ſeveral governments, which being almoſt all corrupt in their origin, cannot be influenced by this principle of univerſal benevolence, have imagined that aſſociations, moſtly founded on the ſeparate intereſt of each nation, or of one ſingle indivi-

dual, ought to be formed in order to confine all the connections of every colony to it's reſpective mother-country. The opinion is, that theſe reſtraining laws ſecure to each commercial nation in Europe the ſale of it's own territorial productions, the means of procuring ſuch foreign commodities as it may ſtand in need of, and an advantageous balance with all the other trading nations.

This ſyſtem, which was long thought to be the beſt, has been vigorouſly oppoſed, when the theory of commerce had once ſhaken off the fetters of prejudice. It has been alleged, that no nation can ſupply all the real or imaginary wants of it's colonies out of it's own property. There is not one that is not obliged to get ſome articles from abroad, in order to complete the cargoes deſtined for America. From this neceſſity ariſes at leaſt an indirect communication of all nations with thoſe diſtant poſſeſſions. Would it not be more eligible to convey each article to it's deſtination in a direct line, than by this indirect way of exchange? This plan would be attended with leſs expence; would promote both culture and conſumption, and bring an increaſe of revenue to the public treaſury: an infinite number of advantages would accrue to the mother-countries, which would make them full amends for the excluſive right they all claim, to their reciprocal injury.

These maxims are true, ſolid, and uſeful, but they will not be adopted. The reaſon is this. A great revolution is preparing in the trade of Europe,

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rope, and is already too far advanced not to be completed. Every government is endeavouring to do without the aſſiſtance of foreign induſtry. Moſt of them have ſucceeded, and the reſt will not be long before they free themſelves from this dependence. Already the Engliſh and the French, who are the great manufacturers of Europe, ſee their maſter-pieces of workmanſhip refuſed on all ſides. Will theſe two nations, which are at the ſame time the greateſt planters in the iſlands, open their ports to thoſe who force them, as it were, to ſhut up their manufactures at home? The more they loſe in the foreign markets, the leſs they will conſent to a competition in the only market they have left. They will rather ſtrive to extend it, that they may have a greater demand for their commodities, and a greater ſupply of American productions. It is by theſe returns that they will preſerve their advantage in the balance of trade, without being apprehenſive that the plenty of theſe productions will lower their value. The progreſs of induſtry in our continent muſt increaſe population and wealth, and of courſe the conſumption and value of the productions of the Antilles.

What will be the fate of the American iſlands hereafter?

But what will become of this part of the New World? Will the ſettlements that render it ſo flouriſhing, always remain in the hands of their original poſſeſſors; or will the maſters of them be changed? If a revolution ſhould take place in them, by what means will it be brought about, and what people will reap the advantage of it? Theſe are queſtions that afford much room for conjecture,

conjecture, which may be aſſiſted by the following reflections.

The iſlands depend totally upon Europe for a ſupply of all their wants. Thoſe which only reſpect wearing apparel and implements of huſbandry will admit of delay; but the leaſt diſappointment, with regard to proviſions, ſpreads a general alarm, and cauſes univerſal deſolation, which rather tempts the people to wiſh for, than to fear the approach of an enemy. And, indeed, it is a common ſaying in the colonies, that they will never fail to capitulate with a ſquadron ſtored with barrels of flour inſtead of gunpowder. If we pretend to obviate this inconvenience, by obliging the inhabitants to cultivate for their own ſubſiſtence, we defeat the very end of theſe ſettlements; without any real advantage. The mother-country would deprive herſelf of a great part of the rich produce of her colonies, and would not preſerve them from invaſion.

In vain ſhould we hope to repulſe an invaſion by the help of Negroes, born in a climate where effeminacy ſtifles the ſeeds of courage, and who are ſtill more enervated by ſlavery, and, conſequently, but little concerned in the choice of their tyrants. In ſuch hands, the beſt weapons muſt be uſeleſs. It might even be apprehended that they would turn them againſt their mercileſs oppreſſors.

The white people appear to be better defenders of the colonies. Beſide the courage which liberty naturally inſpires, they muſt alſo be animated with that which excluſively belongs to

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great proprietors. They are not men debaſed by coarſe labours, by obſcure occupations, or by indigence. The abſolute ſway which they exerciſe in their plantations, muſt have inſpired them with pride and greatneſs of ſoul. But, diſperſed as they are among vaſt poſſeſſions, what can their ſmall number avail? And would they even prevent an invaſion, were they able to do it.

All the coloniſts hold it as a maxim, that their iſlands are to be conſidered as thoſe great cities in Europe, which, lying open to the firſt-comer, change their dominion without an attack, without a ſiege, and almoſt without being ſenſible of the war. The ſtrongeſt is their maſter. The inhabitants exclaim, *God ſave the conqueror!* in imitation of the Italians, who have paſſed and repaſſed from one yoke to another in the courſe of a campaign. Whether the city ſhould return, at the time of peace, under it's former government, or ſhould remain in the hands of the victor, it has loſt nothing of it's ſplendour; while towns, that are defended by ramparts and difficult to be taken, are always depopulated and reduced to a heap of ruins. Accordingly, there is ſcarce, perhaps, one inhabitant in the American iſlands, who does not conſider it to be a fatal prejudice to expoſe his fortune for the ſake of his country. Of what importance is it to this rapacious calculator whoſe laws he obeys, if his crops are left ſtanding? It is to enrich himſelf that he has croſſed the ſeas. If he preſerves his treaſure, his purpoſe is anſwered. Can the mother-country

that

that forſakes him, and frequently after having tyrannized over him; that is ready to give him up, or, perhaps, to ſell him, at the concluſion of a peace, have any claim to the ſacrifice of his life? It is no doubt a glorious thing to die for one's country. But a ſtate, where the proſperity of the nation is ſacrificed to forms of government; where the art of impoſing upon men is the art of training up ſubjects; where ſlaves are wanted inſtead of citizens; where war is declared, and peace concluded, without conſulting the opinion or the wiſhes of the people; where evil deſigns are always countenanced by the intrigues of debauchery, or the practices of monopoly; and where uſeful plans are only adopted with ſuch reſtrictions as prevent their being carried into execution: is this the country for which our blood ſhould be ſacrificed?

THE fortifications, erected for the defence of the colonies, will ſecure them no better than the efforts of the inhabitants. Even if they were ſtronger, and better guarded and ſtored than they have ever been, they muſt always ſurrender unleſs they are ſuccoured. Should the reſiſtance hold out above ſix months, that circumſtance would not diſcourage the beſiegers, who, being within reach of a conſtant ſupply of refreſhments, both by land and by ſea, could better endure the ſeverity of the climate, than a garriſon could reſiſt the duration of a ſiege.

THERE is no other way to preſerve the colonies but by a formidable navy. It is on the docks and in the harbours of Europe, that the baſtions

BOOK XIV.

and ramparts of the American colonies muſt be raiſed. While the mother-country ſhelters them, as it were, under the wings of her ſhips; ſo long as ſhe ſhall fill up with her fleets the vaſt interval that ſeparates her from theſe iſlands, the offspring of her induſtry and power, her parental attention to their proſperity will ſecure their attachment to her. In future, therefore, the maritime forces will be the great object that will attract the attention of all proprietors of land in America. European policy generally ſecures the frontiers of ſtates by fortified towns; but for maritime powers, there ought, perhaps, to be citadels in the center, and ſhips on the circumference. A commercial iſland, indeed, wants no fortified towns. Her rampart is the ſea, which conſtitutes her ſafety, her ſubſiſtence, her wealth; the winds are at her command, and all the elements conſpire to promote her glory.

In this reſpect, Great Britain might lately have undertaken any thing, with the greateſt hopes of ſucceſs. Her iſlands were ſecure, while thoſe of her rivals were open to invaſion. The opinion which the Engliſh had conceived of their own valour; the terror which their arms had inſpired; the fruits of a fortunate experience acquired by their admirals; the number and the excellence of their fleets; all theſe ſeveral modes of aggrandiſement muſt have been annihilated during the calm of a long peace. The pride of paſt ſucceſs; the very reſtleſſneſs inſeparable from proſperity; even the burthen of conqueſts, which ſeems to be the puniſhment of victory; all theſe circumſtances were

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ſo many incitements to war. The projects formed by their active ambition, have been annihilated by the revolution which hath detached North America from their empire: but is the poſſeſſion of the iſlands, which are become very wealthy, and have been placed by nature in the vicinity of that great continent, which is ſtill in a ſtate of poverty, better ſecured to the nations that have cultivated them? It is in the poſition, in the intereſts, in the ſpirit of the new republics, that we muſt endeavour to explore the ſecret of our future deſtiny.

END OF THE FOURTEENTH BOOK.

BOOK XV.

Settlements of the French in North America. Upon what Baſis was founded the Hopes of their Proſperity. Conſequence of theſe Settlements.

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HITHERTO we have viſited thoſe regions where the rays of the ſun are perpendicular. We ſhall now paſs on to thoſe where they are oblique. It is no longer gold which our rapacious and cruel Europeans are going in ſearch of at ſo great a diſtance from their country. If they again croſs the ſeas, it will be for a leſs extravagant motive, it will be to withdraw themſelves from the calamities of their own regions; it will be to find reſt and liberty; to clear uncultivated lands; to caſt their nets on ſhores abounding with fiſh; to go in ſearch of animals upon the tops of mountains, and in the midſt of foreſts, in order to ſtrip them of their valuable furs.

THE ſavage poſſeſſors of the regions we are going to pervade, are not a race of degenerate men, without ſtrength of body, or elevation of ſoul; but we ſhall find them huntſmen, warriors, inured to labour, brave, eloquent, jealous of their independency; men, in a word, who alternately

nately diſplay inſtances of the moſt unhear'd of ferociouſneſs, of the moſt heroic magnanimity, and of the moſt abſurd ſuperſtition.

SUPERSTITION, that fatal plant, is then indigenous in all climates; it grows equally in the the plains, and upon the rocks; under the ardour of the line, under the ſnows of the pole, and in the temperate interval which divides them. Doth the generality of this phænomenon point out in all parts a tendency of the ignorant and timid man towards the author of his exiſtence, and the diſpoſer of good and evil? Doth it indicate the anxiety of a child ſeeking his father in the dark?

Reaſons which prevented the French, for a long time, from purſuing the plan of forming ſettlements in the New World.

SPAIN was miſtreſs of the rich empires of Mexico and Peru; of the gold of the New World, and of almoſt all South America. The Portugueze, after a long ſeries of victories, defeats, enterprizes, miſtakes, conqueſts, and loſſes, had kept the moſt valuable ſettlements in Africa, in India, and in the Brazils. The French government had not even conceived it poſſible to eſtabliſh colonies, or imagined that any advantage could be derived from having poſſeſſions in thoſe diſtant regions.

THEIR ambitious views were turned entirely towards Italy. Some ancient claims on the Milaneſe and the two Sicilies had involved them in expenſive wars, in which they had been engaged for a long time. Their internal commotions diverted them ſtill more from the great object of eſtabliſhing a diſtant and extenſive commerce, and from the idea of increaſing their dominions by acquiſitions in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies.

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THE authority of kings, though not openly conteſted, was oppoſed and eluded. Some remains of the feudal government were ſtill ſubſiſting: and many of it's abuſes had not yet been aboliſhed. The prince was continually employed in reſtraining the reſtleſs ſpirit of a powerful nobility. Moſt of the provinces that compoſed the monarchy were governed by diſtinct laws and forms of their own. Every ſociety, every order in the ſtate, enjoyed peculiar privileges, which were either perpetually conteſted, or carried to exceſs. The government was a complicated machine, which could only be regulated by the management of a variety of delicate ſprings. The court was frequently under a neceſſity of having recourſe to the ſhameful reſources of intrigue and corruption, or to the odious means of oppreſſion and tyranny; and the nation was continually negotiating with the prince. Regal authority was unlimited, without having received the ſanction of the laws; and the people, though frequently too independent, had yet no ſecurity for their liberty. Hence aroſe continual jealouſies, apprehenſions, and ſtruggles. The whole attention of the government was not directed to the welfare of the nation, but to the means of enſlaving it. The people were ſenſible of their wants, but ignorant of their powers and reſources. They found their rights alternately invaded or trampled upon by their nobles or their ſovereigns.

Errors and misfortunes which rendered memorable the

FRANCE, therefore, ſuffered the Spaniards and Portugueze to diſcover new worlds, and to give laws to unknow'n nations. Their attention was at length

first expeditions of the French in the New Hemisphere.

length excited by admiral Coligny, a man of the moſt extenſive, ſteady, and active genius, that ever flouriſhed in that powerful empire. This great politician, attentive to the intereſts of his country, even amidſt the horrors of a civil war, ſent John Ribaud to Florida, in 1562. This vaſt tract of North America then extended from Mexico to the country which the Engliſh have ſince cultivated under the name of Carolina. The Spaniards had paſſed over it in 1512, but without ſettling there. The motives that engaged them to make this diſcovery, and thoſe which induced them to relinquiſh it, are equally unaccountable.

All the Indians of the Caribbee iſlands believed, upon the credit of an antient tradition, that nature had concealed a ſpring, or fountain, ſomewhere on the continent, the waters of which had the property of reſtoring youth to all old men who were ſo fortunate as to taſte of them. The notion of immortality was always the paſſion of mankind, and the comfort of old age. This idea delighted the romantic imagination of the Spaniards. The loſs of many, who were the victims of their credulity, did not diſcourage the reſt. Far from ſuſpecting that the firſt had periſhed in an attempt, of which death would prove the moſt certain conſequence, they concluded that they did not return, becauſe they had found the art of enjoying perpetual youth, and had diſcovered a ſpot ſo delightful, that they did not chuſe to leave it.

Ponce

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PONCE DE LEON was the moſt famous of the navigators who were infatuated with this chimerical idea. Fully perſuaded of the exiſtence of a third world, the conqueſt of which was reſerved to advance his fame; but thinking that the remainder of his life was too ſhort for the immenſe career that was opening before him, he reſolved to endeavour to renew it, and recover that youthful vigour ſo neceſſary to his deſigns. He immediately bent his courſe towards thoſe climates where fable had placed the Fountain of youth, and diſcovered Florida; from whence he returned to Porto-Rico, viſibly more advanced in years than when he ſet out. Thus chance immortalized the name of an adventurer, who made a real diſcovery, merely by being in purſuit of an imaginary one. His fate was the ſame as that of the alchymiſt, who, while he is ſearching for gold which he does not find, diſcovers ſome valuable thing which he was not ſeeking after.

THERE is ſcarce any uſeful and important diſcovery made by the human mind, that has not been rather the effect of a reſtleſs imagination, than of induſtry excited by reflection. Chance, which is the imperceptible courſe of nature, is never at reſt, and aſſiſts all men without diſtinction. Genius grows weary, and is ſoon diſcouraged; it falls to the lot only of a few, and exerts itſelf merely at intervals. It's utmoſt efforts frequently ſerve only to throw it in the way of chance, and invite it's aſſiſtance. The only difference between a man of genius and one of common capacity is, that the former

mer anticipates and explores what the latter accidentally hits upon. But even the man of genius himself more frequently employs the advantages which chance presents to him. It is the lapidary who gives the value to the diamond, which the peasant has digged up without knowing it's worth.

The Spaniards had neglected Florida, because they did not discover there, either the fountain that was to make them all grow young, or gold, which hastens the period of old age. The French found there a more real and valuable treasure; a clear sky, a fruitful soil, a temperate climate, and savages who were lovers of peace and hospitality; but they themselves were not sensible of the worth of these advantages. Had they followed the directions of Coligny; had they tilled the ground, which only wanted the assistance of man to call forth it's treasures; had a due subordination been maintained among the Europeans; had not the rights of the natives of the country been violated; a colony might have been founded, which in time would have become flourishing and permanent. But such prudent measures were not to be expected from the levity of the French. The provisions were lavished; the fields were not sow'n; the authority of the chiefs was disregarded by untractable subalterns; the passion for hunting and war engrossed all their attention; in a word, every duty was neglected.

To complete their misfortune, the civil disturbances in France diverted the subjects from an under-

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undertaking which had never engaged the attention of government. Theological diſputes alienated the minds and divided the hearts of all ranks of people. Government had violated that ſacred law of nature, which enjoins all men to tolerate the opinions of their fellow-creatures; and the rules of policy, which are inconſiſtent with an unſeaſonable exertion of tyranny. The reformed religion had made great progreſs in France, when it was perſecuted; a conſiderable part of the nation was involved in the proſcription, and took up arms.

SPAIN, though not leſs intolerant, had prevented religious diſturbances, by ſuffering the clergy to aſſume that authority which has been continually increaſing, but which, for the future, will be conſtantly on the decline. The inquiſition, always ready to oppoſe the leaſt appearance of innovation, found means to prevent the Proteſtant religion from making it's way into the kingdom, and by this means ſpared itſelf the trouble of extirpating it. Philip II. wholly taken up with America, and accuſtomed to conſider himſelf as the ſole proprietor of it, being informed of the attempts, made by ſome Frenchmen to ſettle there, and of their being neglected by their own government, fitted out a fleet from Cadiz to deſtroy them. Menendez, who was the commander of it, landed in Florida, where he found the enemies he went in ſearch of ſettled at Carolina fort. He attacked all their intrenchments, carried them ſword in hand, and made a dreadful

dreadful maſſacre. Thoſe who eſcaped the rage of the ſword were hanged on a tree, with this inſcription: *Not as Frenchmen, but as heretics.*

FAR from ſeeking to revenge this inſult, the miniſtry of Charles IX. ſecretly rejoiced at the miſcarriage of a project, which, though they had approved it, was not countenanced by them; becauſe it had been contrived by the head of the Huguenots, and might reflect honour on their party. The indignation of the public only confirmed them in their reſolution of ſhewing no reſentment. It was reſerved for a private man to execute what the ſtate ought to have done.

DOMINIC DE GOURGUES, born at mount Marſan in Gaſcony, a ſkilful and intrepid ſeaman, an enemy to the Spaniards, from whom he had received perſonal injuries; paſſionately fond of his country, of hazardous expeditions, and of glory; ſold his eſtate, built ſome ſhips, and with a ſelect band of his own ſtamp, embarked to attack the murderers in Florida. He drove them from all their poſts with incredible valour and activity, defeated them in every rencounter, and, by way of retaliation for the contemptuous inſult they had ſhew'n, hung them up on trees; with this inſcription: *Not as Spaniards, but as aſſaſſins.*

HAD the Spaniards been content with maſſacring the French, the latter would never have had recourſe to ſuch cruel repriſals; but they were offended at the inſcription, and were guilty of an atrocious act, in revenge for the deriſion to which they had been expoſed. This is not the

only inſtance in hiſtory which may lead one to imagine, that it is not the thing that has made the word, but the word that has made the thing.

THE expedition of the brave de Gourgues was attended with no further conſequences. He blew up the forts he had taken, and returned home, either for want of proviſions ſufficient to enable him to remain in Florida, or becauſe he foreſaw that no ſuccours were to be expected from France; or thought that friendſhip with the natives would laſt no longer than the means of purchaſing it, or that he would be attacked by the Spaniards. He was received by all true patriots with the applauſe due to his merit; but neglected by the court, which was too deſpotic and ſuperſtitious not to ſtand in awe of virtue.

FROM the year 1567, when this intrepid Gaſcoon evacuated Florida, the French neglected America. Bewildered in a chaos of unintelligible doctrines, they loſt their reaſon and their humanity. The mildeſt and moſt ſociable people upon earth became the moſt barbarous and ſanguinary. Scaffolds and ſtakes were inſufficient: as they all appeared criminal in each other's eyes, they were all mutually victims and executioners. After having condemned one another to eternal deſtruction, they aſſaſſinated each other at the inſtigation of their prieſts, who breathed nothing but the ſpirit of revenge and bloodſhed. At length, the generous Henry ſoftened the minds of his ſubjects; his compaſſion and tenderneſs made them feel their own calamities; he revived

their

their fondneſs for the ſweets of ſocial life; he prevailed upon them to lay down their arms; and they conſented to live happy under his parental laws.

In this ſtate of tranquillity and freedom, under a king who poſſeſſed the confidence of his people, they began to turn their thoughts to ſome uſeful projects, and undertook the eſtabliſhment of colonies abroad. Florida was the firſt country that naturally occurred to them. Except Fort St. Auguſtine, formerly built by the Spaniards, at the diſtance of ten or twelve leagues from the French colony, the Europeans had not a ſingle ſettlement in all that vaſt and beautiful country. The inhabitants were not a formidable ſet of men; and the ſoil had every promiſing appearance of fertility. It was likewiſe reported to be rich in gold and ſilver mines, both thoſe metals having been found there; whereas, in fact, they came from ſome ſhips that had been caſt away upon the coaſts. The remembrance of the great actions performed by ſome Frenchmen could not yet be eraſed. Probably the French themſelves were rather afraid of irritating Spain; which was not yet diſpoſed to ſuffer the leaſt ſettlement to be made on the Gulph of Mexico, or even near it. The danger of provoking a nation, ſo formidable in thoſe parts, determined them to keep at a diſtance as much as poſſible, and therefore they gave the preference to the more northern parts of America: that road was already chalked out.

The French turn their views towards Canada.

Francis I. had ſent out Verazani, a Florentine, in 1523, who only took a view of the iſland of

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of Newfoundland, and ſome coaſts of the continent; but made no ſtay there.

ELEVEN years after, James Cartier, a ſkilful navigator of St. Malo, reſumed the projects of Verazani. The two nations, which had firſt landed in America, exclaimed againſt the injuſtice of treading in their footſteps. *What!* ſaid Francis I. pleaſantly, *ſhall the kings of Spain and Portugal quietly divide all America between them, without ſuffering me to take a ſhare as their brother? I would fain ſee the article of Adam's will that bequeaths that vaſt inheritance to them.*

CARTIER proceeded further than his predeceſſor. He went up the river St. Lawrence; but, after having bartered ſome European commodities with the ſavages for ſome of their furs, he re-embarked for France; where an undertaking, which ſeemed to have been entered upon merely from imitation, was neglected from levity.

IT happened fortunately that the Normans, the Britons, and the Biſcayans, continued to carry on the cod-fiſhery on the great ſand-bank along the coaſts of Newfoundland, and in all the adjacent latitudes. Theſe intrepid and experienced men ſerved as pilots to the adventurers who, ſince the year 1598, have attempted to ſettle colonies in thoſe deſert regions. None of thoſe firſt ſettlements proſpered, becauſe they were all under the direction of excluſive companies, which had neither abilities to chuſe the beſt ſituations, nor a ſufficient capital to wait for their returns. One monopoly followed another in a rapid ſucceſſion without any advantage; they were purſued with greedineſs,

greedineſs, without a plan, or any means to carry them into execution. All theſe different companies ſucceſſively ruined themſelves; and the ſtate was no gainer by their loſs. Theſe numerous expeditions had coſt France more men, more money, and more ſhips, than other ſtates would have expended in the foundation of great empires. At laſt Samuel de Champlain went a conſiderable way up the river St. Lawrence; and, in 1608, upon the borders of that river laid the foundation of Quebec, which became the origin, center, and capital, of New France, or Canada.

The unbounded track, that opened itſelf to the view of this colony, diſcovered only dark, thick, and deep foreſts, the height of which alone was a proof of their antiquity. Numberleſs large rivers came down from a conſiderable diſtance to water theſe immenſe regions. The intervals between them were full of lakes. Four of theſe, meaſured from two to five hundred leagues in circumference. Theſe ſort of inland ſeas communicated with each other; and their waters, after forming the great river St. Lawrence, conſiderably increaſed the bed of the ocean. Every thing in this rude part of the New World appeared grand and ſublime. Nature here diſplayed ſuch luxuriancy and majeſty as commanded veneration; and a multitude of wild graces, far ſuperior to the artificial beauties of our climates. Here the imagination of a painter or a poet would have been raiſed, animated, and filled with thoſe ideas which leave a laſting impreſſion on the mind. All theſe coun-

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tries exhaled an air fit to prolong life. This temperature, which, from the poſition of the climate, muſt have been extremely pleaſant, loſt nothing of it's wholeſomeneſs by the ſeverity of a long and intenſe winter. Thoſe who impute this merely to the woods, ſprings, and mountains, with which this country abounds, have not taken every thing into conſideration. Others add to theſe cauſes of the cold, the elevation of the land, a pure aerial atmoſphere, ſeldom loaded with vapours; and the direction of the winds, which blow from North to South over ſeas always frozen.

Government, cuſtoms, virtues, vices, and wars, of the ſavages that inhabited Canada.

NOTWITHSTANDING this, the inhabitants of this ſharp and bleak climate were but thinly clad. Before their intercourſe with us, a cloak of buffalo or beaver ſkin, bound with a leathern girdle, and ſtockings made of a roe-buck's ſkin, was the whole of their dreſs. The additions they have ſince made, give great offence to their old men, who are ever lamenting the degeneracy of their manners.

FEW of theſe ſavages knew any thing of huſbandry; they only cultivated maize, and that they left entirely to the management of the women, as being beneath the dignity of independent men. Their bittereſt imprecation againſt an enemy, was the ſame as the curſe pronounced by God againſt the firſt man, that he might be reduced to till the ground. Sometimes they would condeſcend to go a fiſhing; but their chief delight, and the employment of all their life, was hunting. For this purpoſe the whole nation went out as they did

did to war; every family marched in ſearch of ſuſtenance. They prepared for the expedition by ſevere faſting, and never ſtirred out till they had implored the aſſiſtance of their gods; they did not pray for ſtrength to kill the beaſts, but that they might be ſo fortunate as to meet with them. None ſtaid behind except infirm and old men; all the reſt ſallied forth, the men to kill the game, and the women to dry and bring it home. The winter was with them the fineſt ſeaſon of the year: the bear, the roe-buck, the ſtag, and the elk, could not then run with any degree of ſwiftneſs, through ſnow that was four or five feet deep. The ſavages, who were ſtopped neither by the buſhes, the torrents, the ponds, nor the rivers, and who could out-run moſt of the ſwifter animals, were ſeldom unſucceſsful in the chace. When they were without game, they lived upon acorns; and, for want of theſe, fed upon the ſap or inner ſkin that grows between the wood and the bark of the aſpen-tree, and the birch.

In the interval between their hunting parties, they made or mended their bows and arrows, the rackets for running upon the ſnow, and the canoes for croſſing the lakes and rivers. Theſe travelling implements, and a few earthen pots, were the only ſpecimens of art among theſe wandering nations. Thoſe, who were collected in towns, added to theſe the labours requiſite for their ſedentary way of life, for the fencing of their huts, and ſecuring them from being attacked. The ſavages, at that period, gave themſelves up to total inaction, in the moſt profound ſecurity. The people,

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content with their lot, and ſatisfied with what nature afforded them, were unacquainted with that reſtleſſneſs which ariſes from a ſenſe of our own weakneſs, that loathing of ourſelves and every thing about us, that neceſſity of flying from ſolitude, and eaſing ourſelves of the burthen of life by throwing it upon others.

THEIR ſtature in general was beautifully proportioned, but they had more agility than ſtrength, and were more fit to bear the fatigues of the chace than hard labour. Their features were regular, and there was a kind of fierceneſs in their aſpect, which they contracted in war and hunting. Their complexion was of a copper-colour; and they derived it from nature, by which all men who are conſtantly expoſed to the open air are tanned. This complexion was rendered ſtill more diſagreeable by the abſurd cuſtom that prevails among ſavages, of painting their bodies and faces, either to diſtinguiſh each other at a diſtance, to render themſelves more agreeable to their miſtreſſes, or more formidable in war. Beſide this varniſh, they rubbed themſelves with the fat of quadrupeds, or the oil of fiſh, a cuſtom common and neceſſary among them, in order to prevent the intolerable ſtings of gnats and inſects, that ſwarm in uncultivated countries. Theſe ointments were prepared and mixed up with certain red juices, ſuppoſed to be a deadly poiſon to the moſchetos. To theſe ſeveral methods of anointing themſelves, which penetrate and diſcolour the ſkin, may be added, the fumigations they made in their huts againſt thoſe inſects, and the

ſmoke

ſmoke of the fires they kept all the winter to warm themſelves, and to dry their meat. This was ſufficient to make them appear frightful to our people, though beautiful, without doubt, or at leaſt not diſagreeable to themſelves. Their ſight, ſmell, and hearing, and all their ſenſes, were remarkably quick, and gave them early notice of their dangers and wants. Theſe were few, but their diſeaſes were ſtill fewer. They hardly knew of any but what were occaſioned by too violent exerciſe, or eating too much after long abſtinence.

They were not a very numerous people; and poſſibly this might be an advantage to them. Poliſhed nations muſt wiſh for an increaſe of population, becauſe, as they are governed by ambitious rulers, who are the more inclined to war from not being perſonally engaged in it, they are under a neceſſity of fighting, either to invade or repulſe their neighbours; and becauſe they never have a ſufficient extent of territory to ſatisfy their enterpriſing and expenſive way of life. But unconnected nations, who are always wandering, and guarded by the deſerts which divide them; who can fly when they are attacked, and whoſe poverty preſerves them from committing or ſuffering any injuſtice; ſuch ſavage nations do not feel the want of numbers. Perhaps nothing more is required, than to be able to reſiſt the wild beaſts; occaſionally to drive away an inſignificant enemy, and mutually to aſſiſt each other. Had they been more populous, they would the ſooner have exhauſted the country they inhabited,

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and have been forced to remove in ſearch of another; the only, or, at leaſt, the greateſt misfortune attending their precarious way of life.

INDEPENDENT of theſe reflections, which poſſibly did not occur ſo ſtrongly to the ſavages of Canada, the nature of things was alone ſufficient to check their increaſe. Though they lived in a country abounding in game and fiſh, yet in ſome ſeaſons, and ſometimes for whole years, this reſource failed them: and famine then occaſioned a great deſtruction among people who were at too great a diſtance to aſſiſt each other. Their wars, or tranſient hoſtilities, the reſult of former animoſities, were very deſtructive. Men conſtantly accuſtomed to hunt for their ſubſiſtence, to tear in pieces the animal they had overtaken, to hear the cries of death, and ſee the ſhedding of blood, muſt have been ſtill more cruel in war, if poſſible, than our own people, who live partly on vegetables. In a word, notwithſtanding all that has been ſaid in favour of inuring children to hardſhips, which miſled Peter the Great to ſuch a degree, that he ordered that none of his ſailors children ſhould drink any thing but ſea-water (an experiment which proved fatal to all who tried it); it is certain, that a great many young ſavages periſhed through hunger, thirſt, cold, and fatigue. Even thoſe whoſe conſtitution was ſtrong enough to bear the uſual exerciſes of thoſe climates, to ſwim over the broadeſt rivers, to go two hundred leagues on a hunting party, to live many days without ſleep, to ſubſiſt a conſiderable time without any food; ſuch men muſt have been exhauſted, and totally

totally unfit for the purpoſes of generation. Few were ſo long-lived as our people, whoſe manner of living is more uniform and tranquil.

THE auſterity of a Spartan education; the cuſtom of inuring children to hard labour and coarſe food has been productive of dangerous miſtakes. Philoſophers, deſirous of alleviating the miſeries incident to mankind, have endeavoured to comfort the wretched who have been doomed to a life of hardſhips, by perſuading them that it was the moſt wholeſome and the beſt. The rich have eagerly adopted a ſyſtem, which ſerved to render them inſenſible to the ſufferings of the poor, and to diſpenſe them from the duties of humanity and compaſſion. But it is an error to imagine, that men who are employed in the more laborious arts of ſociety, live as long as thoſe who enjoy the fruit of their toil. Moderate labour ſtrengthens the human frame; exceſſive labour impairs it. A peaſant is an old man at ſixty; while the inhabitants of towns, who live in affluence, and with ſome degree of moderation, frequently attain to fourſcore and upward. Even men of letters, whoſe employments are by no means favourable to health, afford many inſtances of longevity. Let not then our modern writings propagate this falſe and cruel error, to ſeduce the rich to diſregard the groans of the poor, and to transfer all their tenderneſs from their vaſſals to their dogs and horſes.

THREE original languages were ſpoken in Canada, the Algonquin, the Sioux, and the Huron. They were conſidered as primitive languages, be-

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cauſe each of them contained many of thoſe imitative words, which convey an idea of things by ſound. The dialects derived from them, were nearly as numerous as their towns. No abſtract terms were found in theſe languages, becauſe the infant mind of the ſavages ſeldom extends it's view beyond the preſent object and the preſent time; and, as they have but few ideas, they ſeldom want to repreſent ſeveral, under one and the ſame ſign. Beſides, the language of theſe people, almoſt always animated by a quick, ſimple, and ſtrong ſenſation, excited by the great ſcenes of nature, contracted a lively and poetical caſt from their ſtrong and active imagination. The aſtoniſhment and admiration which proceeded from their ignorance, gave them a ſtrong propenſity to exaggeration. They expreſſed what they ſaw; their language painted, as it were, natural objects in ſtrong colouring; and their diſcourſes were quite pictureſque. For want of terms agreed upon to denote certain compound or complex ideas, they made uſe of figurative expreſſions. What was ſtill wanting in ſpeech, they ſupplied by their geſtures, their attitudes, their bodily motions, and the modulations of the voice. The boldeſt metaphors were more familiar to them in common converſation, than they are even in epic poetry in the European languages. Their ſpeeches in public aſſemblies, particularly, were full of images, energy, and pathos. No Greek or Roman orator ever ſpoke, perhaps, with more ſtrength and ſublimity than one of their chiefs. It was thought neceſſary to perſuade them to remove at a diſtance from their native ſoil. *We were born*, ſaid he, *on this*

this ſpot, our fathers lie buried in it. Shall we ſay to the bones of our fathers, Ariſe, and come with us into a foreign land?

It may eaſily be imagined, that ſuch nations could not be ſo gentle nor ſo weak as thoſe of South America. They ſhewed that they had that degree of activity and ſtrength which the people of the northern nations always poſſeſs, unleſs they are, like the Laplanders, of a very different ſpecies from our's. They had but juſt attained to that degree of knowlege and civilization, to which inſtinct alone may lead men in the ſpace of a few years; and it is among ſuch people that a philoſopher may ſtudy man in a ſtate of nature.

They were divided into ſeveral ſmall nations, whoſe form of government was nearly ſimilar. Some had hereditary chiefs; others elected them; the greater part were only directed by their old men. They were mere aſſociations, formed by chance, and always free; and though united, they were bound by no tie. The will of individuals was not even overruled by the general one. All deciſions were conſidered only as matter of advice, which was not binding, or enforced by any penalty. If, in one of theſe ſingular republics, a man was condemned to death, it was rather a kind of war againſt a common enemy, than an act of juſtice exerciſed againſt a ſubject or a fellow-citizen. Inſtead of coercive power, good manners, example, education, a reſpect for old men, a parental affection, maintained peace in theſe ſocieties, where there was neither law nor

property. Reaſon, which had not been miſled by prejudice, or corrupted by paſſion, as it is with us, ſerved them inſtead of moral precepts and regulations of police. Harmony and ſecurity were maintained without the interpoſition of government. Authority never incroached upon that powerful inſtinct of nature, the love of independence; which, enlightened by reaſon, produces in us the love of equality.

HENCE ariſes that regard which the ſavages have for each other. They laviſh their expreſſions of eſteem, and expect the ſame in return. They are obliging, but reſerved; they weigh their words, and liſten with great attention. Their gravity, which appears like a kind of melancholy, is particularly obſervable in their national aſſemblies. Every one ſpeaks in his turn, according to his age, experience, and ſervices. No one is ever interrupted, either by indecent reflections, or ill-timed applauſe. Their public affairs are managed with ſuch diſintereſtedneſs as is unknow'n in our governments, where the welfare of the ſtate is hardly ever promoted but from ſelfiſh views or party ſpirit. It is no uncommon thing to hear one of theſe ſavage orators, when his ſpeech has met with univerſal applauſe, telling thoſe who agreed to his opinion, that another man is more deſerving of their confidence.

THIS mutual reſpect among the inhabitants of the ſame place, prevails between the ſeveral nations, when they are not in actual war. The deputies are received and treated with that friendſhip that is due to men who come to treat of peace and alliance.

alliance. Wandering nations, who have not the leaſt notion of increaſing their territory, never negociate for conqueſt, or for any intereſts relative to dominion. Even thoſe who have fixed ſettlements, never contend with others for coming to live in their diſtrict, provided they do not moleſt them. The earth, ſay they, is made for all men; no one muſt poſſeſs the ſhare of two. All the politics, therefore, of the ſavages, conſiſt in forming leagues againſt an enemy who is too numerous or too ſtrong, and in ſuſpending hoſtilities that become too deſtructive. When they have agreed upon a truce or league of amity, it is ratified by mutually exchanging a belt, or ſtring of beads, which are a kind of ſnail-ſhells. The white ones are very common; but the purple ones, which are rare, and the black, which are ſtill more ſo, are much eſteemed. They work them into a cylindrical form, bore them, and then make them up into necklaces. The branches are about a foot long, and the beads are ſtrung upon them one after another in a ſtraight line. The necklaces are broad belts, on which the beads are placed in rows, and neatly tacked down with little ſlips of leather. The ſize, weight, and colour of theſe ſhells, are adapted to the importance of the buſineſs. They ſerve as jewels, as records, and as annals. They are the bond of union between nations and individuals. They are the ſacred and inviolable pledge which is a confirmation of words, promiſes, and treaties. The chiefs of towns are the keepers of theſe records. They know their meaning; they interpret them; and by

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by means of theſe ſigns, they tranſmit the hiſtory of the country to the ſucceeding generation.

As the ſavages poſſeſs no riches, they are of a benevolent turn. A ſtriking inſtance of this appears in the care they take of their orphans, widows, and infirm people. They liberally ſhare their ſcanty proviſion with thoſe whoſe crops have failed, or who have been unſucceſsful in hunting or fiſhing. Their tables and their huts are open night and day to ſtrangers and travellers. This generous hoſpitality, which makes the advantages of a private man a public bleſſing, is chiefly conſpicuous in their entertainments. A ſavage claims reſpect, not ſo much from what he poſſeſſes, as from what he gives away. The whole ſtock of proviſions collected during a chace that has laſted ſix months, is frequently expended in one day; and he who gives the entertainment enjoys more pleaſure than his gueſts.

None of the writers who have deſcribed the manners of the ſavages have reckoned benevolence among their virtues. But this may be owen to prejudice, which has made them confound the antipathy ariſing from reſentment, with natural temper. Theſe people neither love nor eſteem the Europeans, nor are they very kind to them. The inequality of conditions, which we think ſo neceſſary for the well-being of ſociety, is, in their opinion, the greateſt folly. They are ſhocked to ſee, that among us, one man has more property than ſeveral others collectively, and that this firſt injuſtice is productive of a ſecond, which is, that the

the man who has moſt riches is on that account the moſt reſpected. But what appears to them a meanneſs below the brute creation is, that men who are equal by nature ſhould degrade themſelves ſo far as to depend upon the will or the caprice of another. The reſpect we ſhew to titles, dignities, and eſpecially to hereditary nobility, they call an inſult, an outrage to human nature. Whoever knows how to guide a canoe, to beat an enemy, to build a hut, to live upon little, to go a hundred leagues in the woods, with no other guide than the wind and ſun, or any proviſion but a bow and arrows; he acts the part of a man, and what more can be expected of him? That reſtleſs diſpoſition, which prompts us to croſs ſo many ſeas in queſt of fugitive advantages, appears to them rather the effect of poverty than of induſtry. They laugh at our arts, our manners, and all thoſe cuſtoms which inſpire us with a greater degree of vanity, in proportion as they remove us further from the ſtate of nature. Their frankneſs and honeſty is rouzed to indignation by the tricks and cunning which have been practiſed in our dealings with them. A multitude of other motives, ſome founded on prejudice, but frequently on reaſon, have rendered the Europeans odious to the Indians. They have made repriſals, and are become harſh and cruel in their intercourſe with us. The averſion and contempt they have conceived for our manners, has always made them avoid our ſociety. We have never been able to reconcile any of them to our indulgent manner of living; whereas we have ſeen ſome

Europeans

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Europeans forego all the conveniencies of civil life, retire into the foreſts, and take up the bow and the club of the ſavage.

An innate ſpirit of benevolence, however, ſometimes brings the ſavages back to us. At the beginning of the winter a French veſſel was wrecked upon the rocks of Anticoſti. The ſailors who had eſcaped the rigour of the ſeaſon and the dangers of famine in this deſert and ſavage iſland, built a bark out of the remains of their ſhip, which, in the following ſpring, conveyed them to the continent. They were obſerved in a languid and expiring ſtate, by a hut filled with ſavages. *Brethren*, ſaid the chief of this lonely family, addreſſing himſelf affectionately to them, *the wretched are entitled to our pity and our aſſiſtance. We are men, and the misfortunes incident to any of the human race affect us in the ſame manner as if they were our own.* Theſe humane expreſſions were accompanied with every token of friendſhip theſe generous ſavages had it in their power to ſhew.

Europeans, who are ſo proud of your government, of your laws, of your inſtitutions, of your monuments, of every thing that you call your wiſdom, ſuffer me to engage your attention for a moment. I have juſt deſcribed, in a plain and artleſs way, the life and manners of the ſavages. I have not concealed from you their vices, nor have I exaggerated their virtues. I intreat you to preſerve the ſenſations which my narrative hath raiſed in you, till the man of the firſt genius, and of the greateſt eloquence among you, ſhall have prepared himſelf to deſcribe to you, with all the

ſtrength and with all the magic of his colouring, the good and the evil of your civilized countries. His picture will undoubtedly tranſport you with admiration; but do you imagine that it will leave in your minds that delicious emotion which you experience at preſent? Will the writer inſpire you with thoſe ſentiments of eſteem, love, and veneration, which you have juſt granted the ſavages? You would only be miſerable ſavages if you were to live in the foreſts, and the loweſt of the ſavages would be a reſpectable man in your cities.

One thing only was wanting to complete the felicity of the Americans, and that was the happineſs of being fond of their wives. Nature hath in vain beſtowed on their women a good ſhape, beautiful eyes, pleaſing features, and long black hair. All theſe accompliſhments are no longer regarded than while they remain in a ſtate of independence. They no ſooner ſubmit to the matrimonial yoke, but even their huſband, who is the only man they love, grows inſenſible to thoſe charms they were ſo liberal of before marriage. The ſtate of life, indeed, to which this condition ſubjects them, is by no means favourable to beauty. Their features alter, and they loſe at once the deſire and the power of pleaſing. They are laborious, indefatigable, and active. They dig the ground, ſow, and reap; while their huſbands, who diſdain to ſtoop to the drudgeries of huſbandry, amuſe themſelves with hunting, fiſhing, ſhooting with the bow, and aſſerting the dominion of man over the earth.

MANY of theſe nations allow a plurality of wives; and even thoſe that do not practiſe polygamy, have ſtill reſerved to themſelves the liberty of a divorce. The very idea of an indiſſoluble tie never once entered the thoughts of a people who are free till death. When thoſe who are married diſagree, they part by conſent, and divide their children between them. Nothing appears to them more repugnant to nature and reaſon, than the contrary ſyſtem which prevails among Chriſtians. The Great Spirit, ſay they, hath created us all to be happy; and we ſhould offend him, were we to live in a perpetual ſtate of conſtraint and uneaſineſs. This ſyſtem agrees with what one of the Miamis ſaid to one of the miſſionaries, *My wife and I were continually at variance. My neighbour diſagree'd equally with his. We have exchanged wives, and are both ſatisfied.*

A CELEBRATED writer, whom we cannot but admire, even when we differ from him in opinion, has obſerved, that love among the Americans is never productive of induſtry, genius, and character, as it is among the Europeans; becauſe the former, ſays he, have a ſixth ſenſe, weaker than it is among the latter. The ſavages, it is ſaid, are neither acquainted with the torments nor the delights of this moſt violent of all paſſions. The air and the climate, the moiſture of which contributes ſo powerfully to vegetation, does not beſtow upon them any great warmth of conſtitution. The ſame ſap which covers the countries with foreſts, and the trees with leaves, occaſions among men, as among women, the growth of

long,

long, ſmooth, thick, ſtrong, and ſturdy hair. Men who have little more beard than eunuchs have, cannot abound in generating principles. The blood of theſe people is watery and cold; the males have ſometimes milk in their breaſts. Hence ariſes their tardy inclination to the ſex; their averſion for them at certain periods, and in times of pregnancy; and that feeble and tranſient ardour, which is excited only at certain ſeaſons of the year. Hence ariſes that quickneſs of imagination, which renders them ſuperſtitious, fearful as children in the dark, and as much prone to revenge as women; which makes them poets, and figurative in their diſcourſe; men of feeling, in a word, but not of ſtrong paſſions. Hence, in ſhort, hath proceeded that want of population which hath always been obſerved in them. They have few children, becauſe they are not ſufficiently fond of women. And this is a national defect, with which the old men were inceſſantly reproaching the young people.

But may it not be ſaid, that the paſſion of the ſavages for women is leſs languid from the nature of their conſtitution, than from their moral character? The pleaſures of love are too eaſily indulged among them, to excite any ſtrong deſires. Accordingly, among ourſelves, it is not in thoſe ages, where luxury encourages incontinence, that we ſee the men moſt attached to the women, and the women bear the moſt children. In what country hath love ever been a ſource of heroiſm and virtue, when the women have not encouraged their lovers to theſe purſuits by chaſte

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refuſals, and by the ſhame they had affixed to the weakneſs of their ſex? It is at Sparta, at Rome, and even in France, in the ages of chivalry, that love hath given riſe to great undertakings, and hath occaſioned the enduring of great hardſhips. There it is, that uniting itſelf to public ſpirit, it aſſiſted patriotiſm, or ſupplied the place of it. As it was a more difficult thing always to pleaſe one woman, than to ſeduce ſeveral, the ſway of moral love prolonged the power of natural love, by ſuppreſſing it, by directing it to proper objects, by deceiving it even with hopes which kept up deſires, and maintained the paſſion in all it's ſtrength. But this love, though ſtinted in enjoyments, was productive of great effects. To love was not then an art, but a paſſion, which being engendered in innocence itſelf, was kept alive by ſacrifices, inſtead of being extinguiſhed in voluptuouſneſs.

With reſpect to the ſavages, if they ſhould not be ſo fond of women as civilized people are, it is not, perhaps, for want of powers or inclination to population. But the firſt wants of nature may, perhaps, reſtrain in them the claims of the ſecond. Their ſtrength is almoſt all exhauſted in procuring their ſubſiſtence. Hunting and other expeditions leave them neither the opportunity nor the leiſure of attending to the increaſe of their ſpecies. No wandering nation can ever be numerous. What muſt become of women obliged to follow their huſbands a hundred leagues, with children at their breaſt or in their arms? What would become of the children themſelves, if

if deprived of the milk that muſt neceſſarily fail during the fatigues of the journey? Hunting prevents, and war deſtroys, the increaſe of mankind. A ſavage warrior reſiſts the ſeducing arts of young women, who ſtrive to allure him. When nature compels this tender ſex to make the firſt advances, and to purſue the men that avoid them, thoſe who are leſs inflamed with military ardour, than with the charms of beauty, yield to the temptation. But the true warriors, who have been early taught that an intercourſe with women enervates ſtrength and courage, do not ſurrender. It is not, therefore, owen to natural defects that Canada is unpeopled, but to the track of life purſued by it's inhabitants. Though they are as fit for procreation as our northern people, all their ſtrength is employed for their own preſervation. Hunger does not permit them to attend to the paſſion of love. If the people of the ſouth ſacrifice every thing to this latter deſire, it is becauſe the former is eaſily ſatisfied. In a country where nature is very prolific, and man conſumes but little, all the ſtrength he has to ſpare is entirely turned to population; which is likewiſe aſſiſted by the warmth of the climate. In a climate where men conſume more than nature affords them without pains, the time and the faculties of the human ſpecies are exhauſted in fatigues that are detrimental to population.

But a further proof, that the ſavages are not leſs inclined to women than we are, is, that they are much fonder of their children. Their mothers ſuckle them till they are four or five years old, and

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ſometimes till ſix or ſeven. From their earlieſt infancy, their parents pay a regard to their natural independence, and never beat or chide them, leſt they ſhould check that free and martial ſpirit, which is one day to conſtitute their principal character. They even forbear to make uſe of ſtrong arguments to perſuade them, becauſe this would be in ſome meaſure a reſtraint upon their will. As they are only taught what they want to know, they are the happieſt children upon earth. If they die, the parents lament them with deep regret; and will ſometimes go ſix months after, to weep over the grave of their child; and the mother will ſprinkle it with her own milk.

The ties of friendſhip among the ſavages are more laſting than thoſe of nature. Friendſhip is not abſolutely a duty, ſince it cannot be commanded: but it is a more agreeable, a more tender, and even a ſtronger union, than thoſe which are formed by nature, or by ſocial inſtitutions. All perſons who are connected by that delightful ſentiment, agree in giving mutual advice to each other in difficult conjunctures; in adminiſtring comfort in misfortunes; in granting aſſiſtance in undertakings, and ſuccours in adverſity. Imagination, far from ſeeking to diminiſh the obligations incumbent upon this virtue, delights in exaggerating them. It is thought that it cannot ſubſiſt without an entire neglect of one's ſelf, a total renunciation of all perſonal intereſts in favour of the friend truly beloved.

It is not given to all men to enjoy the ſweets of friendſhip. Several can neither feel it themſelves, nor

nor inſpire it to others, on account of the coldneſs and ſtiffneſs of their character. How is it poſſible that it ſhould enter into the heart of the rich? They have no other concern but their preſent opulence, the deſire of increaſing it, and the dread of loſing it. The powerful man requires none but flatterers, who ſcarce can venture to raiſe their timid looks up to him; and mean ſouls, who ſervilely implore his protection. What pleaſure could he find in an intimate friendly connection, which the loweſt claſs of citizens might enjoy as well, or better than he? The diſſipated man is equally incapable of ſtrong or laſting affection; he is wholly abſorbed in ſhew, and in a variety of pleaſures. His enjoyments are external, and his heart totally unconnected with his attachments.

Friendship among ſavages is never broken by that variety of claſhing intereſts, which in our ſocieties weaken even the tendereſt and the moſt ſacred connections. When a man hath once made his choice, he depoſits in the breaſt of his aſſociate, his inmoſt thoughts, his ſentiments, his projects, his ſorrows, and his joys. The two friends ſhare every thing in common; their union is for life; they fight ſide by ſide; and if one ſhould fall, the other certainly expires upon the body of his friend. Even then, they cheriſh the flattering perſuaſion, that their ſeparation will be only momentary, and that they ſhall rejoin each other in another world, where they ſhall never part, and where they ſhall perpetually render each other the moſt important ſervices. An

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Iroquois, who was a Chriſtian, but who did not live according to the maxims of the goſpel, was threatened with eternal puniſhments. He aſked whether his friend, who had been buried a few days, was in hell? I have ſtrong reaſons to believe, replied the miſſionary, that he hath not been ſent to that place of torment. If that be the caſe, replied the ſavage, I will not go there either. He immediately promiſed to alter his manners, and after this, always led a very exemplary life.

The ſavages ſhew a degree of penetration and ſagacity, which aſtoniſhes every man who has not obſerved how much our arts and methods of life contribute to render our minds dull and inactive: becauſe we are ſeldom under a neceſſity of thinking, and have only the trouble to learn. If however they have never improved any thing, any more than thoſe animals, in which we obſerve the greateſt ſhare of ſagacity, it is, probably, becauſe, as they have no ideas but ſuch as relate to their preſent wants, the equality that ſubſiſts between them, lays every individual under a neceſſity of thinking for himſelf, and of ſpending his whole life in acquiring this common ſtock of knowlege; hence it may be reaſonably inferred, that the ſum total of ideas in a ſociety of ſavages is no more than the ſum of ideas in each individual.

Instead of abſtruſe meditations, the ſavages delight in ſongs. They are ſaid to have no variety in their ſinging; but it is uncertain whether thoſe who have hear'd them had an ear properly adapted

adapted to their muſic. When we firſt hear a foreign language ſpoken, the whole ſeems one continued ſound, and appears to be pronounced with the ſame tone of voice, without any modulation or proſody. It is only by continued habit that we learn to diſtinguiſh the words and ſyllables, and to perceive that the ſound of ſome is dull, and that of others ſharp, and that it is more or leſs lengthened out. Would it not require at leaſt as much time to enable us to determine any thing certain with regard to the muſic of any nation, which muſt always be ſubordinate to their language?

THEIR dances are generally an emblem of war, and they uſually dance with their weapons in their hands. There is ſomething ſo regular, rapid, and terrible, in theſe dances, that an European, when firſt he ſees them, cannot help ſhuddering. He imagines that the ground will in a moment be covered with blood and ſcattered limbs, and that none of the dancers or the ſpectators will ſurvive. It is ſomewhat remarkable, that in the firſt ages of the world, and among ſavage nations, dancing ſhould be an imitative art, and that it ſhould have loſt that characteriſtic in civilized countries, where it ſeems to be reduced to a ſet of uniform ſteps without meaning. But it is with dances as with languages, they grow abſtracted like the ideas they are intended to repreſent. The ſigns of them are more allegorical, as the minds of the people become more refined. In the ſame manner as a ſingle word, in a learned language, expreſſes ſeveral

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ideas; ſo, in an allegorical dance, a ſingle ſtep, a ſingle attitude, is ſufficient to excite a variety of ſenſations. It is owen to want of imagination, either in the dancers, or the ſpectators, if a figured dance be not, or do not appear to be, expreſſive. Beſides, the ſavages can exhibit none but ſtrong paſſions and ferocious manners, and theſe muſt be repreſented by more ſignificant images in their dances, which are the language of geſture, the firſt and ſimpleſt of all languages. Nations living in a ſtate of civil ſociety, and in peace, have only the gentler paſſions to repreſent which are beſt expreſſed by delicate images, fit to convey refined ideas. It might not, however, be improper ſometimes to bring back dancing to it's firſt origin, to exhibit the old ſimplicity of manners, to revive the firſt ſenſations of nature by motions which repreſent them, to depart from the antiquated and ſcientific mode of the Greeks and Romans, and to adopt the lively and ſignificant images of the rude Canadians.

THESE ſavages, always totally devoted to the purſuit of the preſent paſſion, are extravagantly fond of gaming, as is uſual with all idle people, and eſpecially of games of chance. The ſame men, who are commonly ſo ſedate, moderate, and diſintereſted, and have ſuch a command of themſelves, are outrageous, greedy and turbulent at play; they loſe their peace, their ſenſes, and all they are poſſeſſed of. Deſtitute of almoſt every thing, coveting all they ſee, and when they like it, eager to have and enjoy it, their attention is entirely turned to the moſt ſpeedy and readieſt way

way of acquiring it. This is a conſequence of their manners, as well as of their character. The proſpect of preſent happineſs always prevents them from diſcerning the evils that may enſue. Their forecaſt does not even reach from day to night. They are alternately ſilly children, and violent men. Every thing depends with them on the preſent moment.

GAMING alone would lead them to ſuperſtition, even if they were not naturally ſubject to that ſcourge of the human race. But as they have few phyſicians or empirics of this kind to have recourſe to, they ſuffer leſs from this diſtemper of the mind than more poliſhed nations, and are better diſpoſed to attend to the ſuggeſtions of reaſon which abate the violence of it. The Iroquois have a confuſed notion of a firſt Being who governs the world at pleaſure. They never repine at the evil which this being permits. When ſome miſchance befals them they ſay; *the man above will have it ſo*; and there is, perhaps, more philoſophy in this ſubmiſſion, than in all the reaſonings and declamations of our philoſophers. Moſt other ſavage nations worſhip thoſe two firſt principles of good and evil, which occur to the human mind as ſoon as it has acquired any conception of inviſible ſubſtances. Sometimes they worſhip a river, a foreſt, the ſun or the moon; in ſhort, any beings in which they have obſerved a certain power and motion; becauſe wherever they ſee motion, which they cannot account for, they ſuppoſe there is a ſoul.

THEY

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THEY ſeem to have ſome notion of a future ſtate; but, having no principles of morality, they do not think the next life is a ſtate of reward for virtue, and puniſhment for vice. They believed that the indefatigable huntſman, the fearleſs and mercileſs warrior, who has ſlain or burnt many enemies, and made his own town victorious, will after death paſs into a country, where he will be ſupplied with plenty of all kinds of animals to ſatisfy his hunger; whereas thoſe who are grow'n old in indolence and without glory, will be for ever baniſhed into a barren land, where they will be eternally expoſed to famine and ſickneſs. Their tenets are ſuited to their manners and their wants. They believe in ſuch pleaſures and ſuch ſufferings as they are acquainted with. They have more hopes than fears, and are happy, even in their deluſions. They are, however, often tormented with dreams.

IGNORANCE is naturally prone to connect ſomething myſterious with dreams, and to aſcribe them to the agency of ſome powerful being, who takes the opportunity, when our faculties are ſuſpended and lulled aſleep, of watching over us in the abſence of our ſenſes. It is, as it were, a ſoul, diſtinct from our own, that glides into us, to inform us of what is to come, when we cannot yet ſee it; though futurity be always preſent to that Being who created all things.

IN the bleak and rough climates of Canada, where the people live by hunting, their nerves are apt to be painfully affected by the inclemency of the weather, and by fatigue and long abſti-

nence.

hence. Then theſe ſavages have melancholy and troubleſome dreams; they imagine they are ſurrounded with enemies; they ſee their town ſurpriſed, and deluged in blood; they receive injuries and wounds; their wives, their children, their friends are carried off. When they awake, they take theſe viſions for a warning from the gods; and that fear which firſt inſpired them with this idea, adds to their natural ferocity, by the melancholy caſt it gives to their thoughts, and their gloomy complexions. The old women, who are uſeleſs in the world, dream for the ſafety of the commonwealth. Some weak old men alſo, like them too, dream on public affairs, in which they have no ſhare or influence. Young men who are unfit for war, or laborious exerciſes, will dream too, that they may bear ſome part in the adminiſtration of the clan. In vain hath it been attempted, during two centuries, to remove illuſions ſo deeply rooted. The ſavages have conſtantly replied, *You Chriſtians laugh at the faith we have in dreams, and yet require us to believe things infinitely more improbable.* Thus we ſee in theſe untutored nations the ſeeds of prieſtcraft, with all it's train of evils.

Were it not for theſe melancholy fits and dreams, there would ſcarce ever be any contentions among them. Europeans, who have lived long in thoſe countries, aſſure us they never ſaw an Indian in a paſſion. Without ſuperſtition, there would be as few national as private quarrels.

Private differences are moſt commonly adjuſted by the majority of the people. The reſpect ſhew'n by the nation to the aggrieved party, ſooths his ſelf-love, and diſpoſes him to peace. It is more

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more difficult to prevent quarrels, or to put an end to hoſtilities between two nations.

WAR often takes it's riſe from hunting. When two companies, which were ſeparated by a foreſt a hundred leagues in extent, happen to meet, and to interfere with each other's ſport, they ſoon quarrel, and turn thoſe weapons againſt one another which were intended for the deſtruction of bears. This ſlight ſkirmiſh is a ſource of eternal diſcord. The vanquiſhed party vows implacable vengeance againſt the conquerors, a national hatred which will be maintained by their poſterity, and be rekindled from their aſhes. The mutual wounds which both parties ſuffer in ſkirmiſhes of this kind, ſometimes put a ſtop to theſe contentions; when on each ſide they happen to be occaſioned by ſome impetuous young men, who in the heat of youth may have been tempted to remove to a conſiderable diſtance, in order to make a trial of their military ſkill. But the contentions between whole nations are not eaſily excited.

THE declaration of war, when it appears neceſſary, is not left to the judgment and deciſion of one man. The nation meets, and the chief ſpeaks. He ſtates the nature of the injury and cauſes of complaint. The matter is conſidered; the dangers and the conſequences of a rupture are weighed. The orators ſpeak directly to the point, without heſitation, without digreſſion, or without miſtaking the caſe. The arguments are diſcuſſed with a ſtrength of reaſoning and eloquence that ariſes from the evidence and ſimplicity of the matter in

diſpute;

diſpute; and even with an impartiality which is leſs affected by their ſtrong paſſions, than it is among us by a combination of ideas. If war be unanimouſly determined by their giving a general ſhout, the allies are invited to join in it, which they ſeldom refuſe, as they always have ſome injury to revenge, or ſome ſlain to replace by priſoners.

The ſavages next proceed to the election of a chief. When a certain number of men aſſemble to execute an enterpriſe, in which common intereſt is concerned, one perſon among them muſt be appointed to guide the motions of the multitude, of whom he muſt be the common ſoul; a ſoul which muſt command them all as imperiouſly, as it's orders are iſſued to the members of the body which it inhabits, and which muſt be obeyed with as much diſpatch and punctuality. Whenever this identity ceaſes diſorder is introduced. It is no longer an army which hath the ſame object in view; it is a ſet of diſtinct officers and ſoldiers who have each of them their particular deſigns. That ſubordination which connects one hundred thouſand men with all their powers to one commander, is the chief circumſtance of diſtinctions between modern and ancient warriors. Among the latter, every man uſed to ſingle out his enemy, and bid him defiance in the midſt of the throng. An engagement was nothing more than a great number of duels fought at the ſame time, upon a field of battle. It is not ſo at preſent: our armies conſiſt of deep, large, and cloſe bodies of men, placed upon a line, preſſed together,

and

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and moving in all directions as one ſingle body. Formerly an engagement was a duel between man and man, at preſent, it is a duel of one body of men againſt another. The leaſt want of ſubordination would bring on confuſion, and confuſion would occaſion a horrid maſſacre and a humiliating defeat.

The diſlike which the ſavages of Canada have for whatever may reſtrain their independence, hath not prevented them from perceiving the neceſſity of having a military chief. They have always been led to action by commanders, and phyſiognomy hath been always attended to in the choice they have made of them. This might be a very fallacious, and even ridiculous, way of forming a judgment of men, where they have been trained up from their infancy to diſguiſe their real ſentiments, and where, by a conſtant practice of diſſimulation and artificial paſſions, the countenance is no longer expreſſive of the mind. But a ſavage, who is ſolely guided by nature, and is acquainted with it's workings, ſeldom miſtakes in the judgment he forms at firſt ſight. The chief requiſite, next to a warlike aſpect, is a ſtrong voice; becauſe, in armies that march without drums or clarions, in order more effectually to ſurpriſe the enemy, nothing is ſo proper to ſound an alarm, or to give the ſignal for the onſet, as the terrible voice of a chief, who ſhouts and ſtrikes at the ſame time. But the beſt recommendations for a general are his exploits. Every one is at liberty to boaſt of his victories, in order that he may be the firſt to expoſe himſelf

to

to march foremoſt to meet danger; to tell what he has done, in order to ſhew what he will do; and the ſavages think ſelf-commendation not unbecoming a hero who can ſhew his ſcars.

He who is choſen to be chief, and to lead on the reſt in the path of glory, never fails to harangue them. "Comrades," ſays he, "the "bones of our brethren are ſtill uncovered. They "cry out againſt us; we muſt ſatisfy them. "Young men, to arms; fill your quivers; paint "yourſelves with gloomy colours that may ſtrike "terror. Let the woods ring with our war-"ſongs. Let us ſooth the dead with the ſhouts "of vengeance. Let us go and bathe in the "blood of our enemies, take priſoners, and fight "as long as water ſhall flow in the rivers, and as "long as the ſun and moon ſhall remain fixed in "the firmament."

At theſe words thoſe brave men, who are eager for war, go to the chief, and ſay, *We will ſhare the danger with thee. So you ſhall*, replies the chief; *we will ſhare it together*. But as no perſuaſions are made uſe of to induce any one to join the army, leſt a falſe point of honour ſhould compel men of no courage to take the field, a man muſt undergo many trials before he can be admitted as a ſoldier. If a young man, who has never yet faced the enemy, ſhould betray the leaſt impatience, when, after long abſtinence, he is expoſed to the ſcorching heat of the ſun, the intenſe froſts of the night, or the ſtings of inſects, he would be declared incapable and unworthy to bear arms. Are the ſoldiers of our militias and armies formed in this manner?

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manner? On the contrary, what a mournful and ominous ceremony is our's! Men who have not been able to eſcape being preſſed into the ſervice, or could not procure an exemption by purchaſe, or by virtue of ſome privilege, march heavily along, with downcaſt looks, and pale dejected faces, before a magiſtrate, whoſe office is odious to the people, and whoſe honeſty is doubtful. The afflicted and trembling parents ſeem to be following their ſon to the grave. A black ſcroll, iſſuing from a fatal urn, points out the victims which the prince devotes to war. A diſtracted mother in vain preſſes her ſon to her boſom, and ſtrives to detain him; he is tor'n from her arms, and ſhe bids him an eternal farewel, curſing the day of her marriage, and that of her delivery. It is not certainly by ſuch ſacrifices that good ſoldiers are to be acquired. It is not with ſuch ſcenes of diſtreſs and conſternation that the ſavages go to meet victory. They march out in the midſt of feſtivity, ſinging and dancing. The young married women follow their huſbands for a day or two, without ſhewing any ſigns of grief or ſorrow. Theſe women, who do not even utter a groan in the pangs of child-birth, would ſcorn to ſoften the minds of the defenders and avengers of their country, by the tears even of tenderneſs and compaſſion.

THE weapons of theſe ſavage nations are a kind of ſpear, armed with ſharp bones, and a ſmall club of very hard wood, of a round figure, and with one cutting edge. Inſtead of theſe laſt, ſince their acquaintance with the Europeans, they make uſe

of

of a hatchet, which they manage with amazing dexterity. Moſt of them have no inſtrument of defence: but if they attack the paliſades that ſurround a town, they cover their body with a thin plank. Some of them uſed to wear a kind of cuiraſs, made with plaited reeds; but they left it off, on finding it was not proof againſt fire-arms.

The army is followed by dreamers, who aſſume the name of jugglers, and are too often ſuffered to determine the military operations. They march without any colours. All the warriors, who are almoſt naked, that they may be the more alert in battle, rub their bodies with coal, to appear more terrible, or with mould, that they may not be ſo eaſily ſeen at a diſtance, and by that means may be better able to ſurpriſe the enemy. Notwithſtanding their natural intrepidity and averſion for all diſguiſe, their wars are carried on with artifice. Theſe ſtratagems, common to all nations, whether ſavage or civilized, are become neceſſary to the petty nations of Canada. They would have totally deſtroyed one another, had they not made the glory of their chiefs to conſiſt in bringing home all their companions, rather than in ſhedding the blood of their foes. Honour, therefore, is to be gained by falling upon the enemy before he is prepared. Theſe people, whoſe ſenſes have never been impaired, are extremely quick in their ſmell, and can diſcover the places where men have trod. By the keenneſs of that and of their ſight, it is ſaid they can trace footſteps that are made upon the ſhorteſt graſs, upon the dry ground, and even

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upon ſtone; and from the nature of the footſteps can diſcover to what nation the adventurers belong. Perhaps, they may do this by the leaves from the foreſts which always cover the ground.

When they are ſo fortunate as to ſurpriſe the enemy, they diſcharge a whole volley of arrows, and fall upon them with their clubs or hatchets. If they are upon their guard, or well intrenched, they retreat if they can; if not, they fight till they conquer or die. The victorious party diſpatch the wounded whom they cannot carry off, ſcalp the dead, and take ſome priſoners.

The conqueror leaves his hatchet upon the field of battle, having previouſly engraven upon it the mark of his nation, that of his family, and eſpecially his own picture; that is to ſay, an oval with the figures marked on his own face. Others paint all theſe enſigns of honour, or rather trophies of victory, on the ſtump of a tree, or on a piece of the bark, with coal mixed up with ſeveral colours. To this they add the hiſtory, not only of the battle, but of the whole campaign, in hieroglyphic characters. Next to the picture of the general, the number of his ſoldiers is marked by ſo many lines; that of the priſoners by ſo many little images, and that of the dead by ſo many human figures without heads. Such are the expreſſive and technical ſigns which, in all original ſocieties, have preceded the art of writing and printing, and the voluminous libraries which fill the palaces of the rich and idle, and embarraſs the the minds of the learned.

THE hiſtory of an Indian war is but a ſhort one; they make haſte to deſcribe it, for fear the enemy ſhould rally and fall upon them. The conqueror glories in a precipitate retreat, and never ſtops till he reaches his own territory and his own town. There he is received with the warmeſt tranſports of joy, and finds his reward in the applauſes of his countrymen. A debate then enſues, how the priſoners, who are the only advantage of their victory, ſhall be diſpoſed of.

THE moſt fortunate of the captives are thoſe who are choſen to replace the warriors who fell in the late action, or in former battles. This adoption has been wiſely contrived, to perpetuate nations, which would ſoon be deſtroyed by frequent wars. The priſoners being once incorporated into a family, become couſins, uncles, fathers, brothers, huſbands; in ſhort, they ſucceed to any degree of conſanguinity, in which the deceaſed ſtood, whoſe place they ſupply; and theſe affectionate titles convey all their rights to them, at the ſame time that they bind them to all their engagements. Far from being averſe for attaching themſelves with all proper affection to the family that has adopted them, they will not refuſe even to take up arms againſt their own countrymen. Yet this is ſurely a ſtrange inverſion of the ties of nature. They muſt be very weak men, thus to ſhift the object of their regard with the viciſſitudes of fortune. The truth is, that war ſeems to cancel all the bonds of nature, and to confine a man's feelings to himſelf alone. Hence ariſes that union between friends among the ſa-

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vages, which is obſerved to be ſtronger than that which ſubſiſts between relations. Thoſe who are to fight and die together, are more firmly attached, than thoſe who are born together, or under the ſame roof. When war or death has diſſolved that conſanguinity which is cemented by nature, or has been formed by choice, the ſame fate which loads the ſavage with chains, gives him new relations and friends. Cuſtom and common conſent have authoriſed this ſingular law, which undoubtedly ſprang from neceſſity.

But it ſometimes happens that a priſoner refuſes this adoption; ſometimes that he is excluded from it. A tall handſome priſoner had loſt ſeveral of his fingers in battle. This circumſtance was not noticed at firſt. *Friend*, ſaid the widow to whom he was allotted, *we had choſen you to live with us; but in the condition you appear, unable to fight and to defend us, of what uſe is life to you! Death is certainly preferable. I am of the ſame opinion*, anſwered the ſavage. *Well then*, replied the woman, *this evening you ſhall be tied to the ſtake. For your own glory, and for the honour of your family who have adopted you, remember to behave like a man of courage.* He promiſed he would, and kept his word. For three days he endured the moſt cruel torments, with a conſtancy and cheerfulneſs that ſet them all at defiance. His new family never forſook him, but encouraged him by their applauſe, and ſupplied him with drink and tobacco in the midſt of his ſufferings. What a mixture of virtue and ferociouſneſs! Every thing is great in theſe people who are not enſlaved.

This

This is the ſublime of nature, in all it's horrors and it's beauties.

THE captives whom none chuſe to adopt, are ſoon condemned to death. The victims are prepared for it by every thing that may tend to inſpire them with a fondneſs for life. The beſt fare, the kindeſt uſage, the moſt endearing names, are laviſhed upon them. They are even ſometimes indulged with women to the very moment of their ſentence. Is this compaſſion, or is it a refinement of barbarity? At laſt a herald comes, and acquaints the wretch that the pile is ready. *Brother*, ſays he, *be patient, you are going to be burnt. Very well brother*, ſays the priſoner, *I thank you.*

THESE words are received with general applauſe; but the women are the moſt violent in their expreſſions of the common joy. She to whom the priſoner is delivered up, inſtantly invokes the ſhade of a father, a huſband, a ſon, the deareſt friend, whoſe death is ſtill unrevenged. *Draw near*, ſhe cries, *I am preparing a feaſt for thee. Come and drink large draughts of the broth I intend to give thee. This warrior is going to be put into the cauldron. They will apply hot hatchets all over his body: They will ſcalp him. They will drink out of his ſcull; Thou ſhalt be avenged and ſatisfied.*

THIS furious woman then ruſhes upon her victim, who is tied to a poſt near the fiery pile, and by ſtriking or maiming him, ſhe gives the ſignal for the intended cruelties. There is not a woman, or child, in the clan whom this ſight has brought together, who does not take a part in

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torturing and ſlaying the miſerable captive. Some pierce his fleſh with firebrands; others cut it in ſlices; ſome tear off his nails; while others cut off his fingers, roaſt them, and devour them before his face. Nothing ſtops his executioners but the fear of haſtening his end: they ſtudy to prolong his ſufferings for whole days, and ſometimes they make him linger for a week.

In the midſt of theſe torments, the hero ſings, in a barbarous but heroic manner, the glory of his former victories: he ſings the pleaſure he formerly took in ſlaying his enemies. His expiring voice is raiſed, to expreſs the hope he entertains of being revenged; and to tell his perſecutors that they know not how to avenge their anceſtors, whom he hath maſſacred. He chuſes to bid defiance to his executioners, the moment when their rage appears rather ſlackened; and he endeavours to excite it anew, in order that the exceſs of his ſufferings may diſplay the exceſs of his courage. It is a conflict between the victim and his tormentors; a dreadful challenge between conſtancy in ſuffering, and obſtinacy in torturing. But the ſenſe of glory predominates. Whether this intoxication of enthuſiaſm ſuſpends, or wholly benumbs, all ſenſe of pain; or whether cuſtom and education alone produce theſe prodigies of heroiſm, certain it is, that the ſufferer dies without ever ſhedding a tear or heaving a ſigh. Let fanatics of all falſe religions no longer boaſt the conſtancy of their martyrs: the ſavage of nature goes beyond all their miraculous accounts.

How

How ſhall we account for this inſenſibility? Is it owen to the climate, or to the manner of life? Colder blood, thicker humours, a conſtitution rendered more phlegmatic by the dampneſs of the air and the ground, may doubtleſs blunt the irritability of the nervous ſyſtem in Canada. Men who are conſtantly expoſed to all the inclemencies of the weather, the fatigues of hunting, and the perils of war, contract ſuch a rigidity of fibres, ſuch a habit of ſuffering, as makes them inſenſible to pain. It is ſaid the ſavages are ſcarce ever convulſed in the agonies of death, whether they die of ſickneſs or of a wound. As they have no apprehenſions, either of the approaches or the conſequences of death, their imagination does not ſuggeſt that artificial ſenſibility againſt which nature has guarded them. Their whole life, whether conſidered in a natural or moral view, is calculated to inſpire them with a contempt for death, which we ſo much dread; and to enable them to overcome the ſenſe of pain, which is increaſed by our indulgences.

But a circumſtance ſtill more aſtoniſhing in the character of the Indians than their reſolution in ſupporting tortures, is the rancour that appears in their revenge. It is dreadful to think that man may become the moſt cruel of all animals. In general, revenge is not proſecuted with cruelty either among nations, or between individuals who are governed by good laws; which, at the ſame time that they protect the ſubject, reſtrain him from committing injuries. Vengeance is not a very lively principle in wars that are carried on

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between great nations, becauſe they have but little to fear from their enemies. But in thoſe petty nations, where a conſiderable ſhare of the power of the ſtate belongs to each individual, where the loſs of one man endangers the whole community, war is nothing elſe than a ſpirit of revenge that actuates the whole body. Among independent men, who entertain a degree of eſteem for themſelves, which can never be felt by men who are under ſubjection; among ſavages whoſe affections are very lively, and confined to a few objects, injuries muſt neceſſarily be reſented to the greateſt degree, becauſe they affect the perſon in the moſt ſenſible manner: the aſſaſſination of a friend, of a ſon, of a brother, or of a fellow-citizen, muſt be avenged by the death of the aſſaſſin. Theſe beloved ſhades are continually calling out for vengeance from their graves. They wander about in the foreſts, amidſt the mournful accents of the birds of night; they appear in the phoſphorus and in the lightning; and ſuperſtition pleads for them in the afflicted or incenſed hearts of their friends.

When we conſider the hatred which the hordes of theſe ſavages bear to each other; the hardſhips they undergo; the ſcarcity they are often expoſed to; the frequency of their wars; the ſmall number of inhabitants; the numberleſs ſnares we lay for them; we cannot but foreſee that, in leſs than three centuries, the whole race will be extinct. What judgment will poſterity form of this ſpecies of men, who will exiſt only in the deſcriptions of travellers? Will not the accounts given

of

of the ſavages appear to them in the ſame light as the fables of antiquity do to us? It will ſpeak of them, as the Centaurs and Lapithæ are ſpoken of by us. How many contradictions will not poſterity diſcover in their cuſtoms and manners! Will not ſuch of our writings as may then have eſcaped the deſtructive hand of time, paſs for romantic inventions, like thoſe which Plato has left us concerning the antient Atlantica?

The French imprudently take a part in the wars of the ſavages.

The character of the North-Americans, as we have deſcribed it, had ſingularly diſplayed itſelf in the war between the Iroquois and the Algonquins. Theſe two nations, the moſt numerous in Canada, had formed a kind of confederacy. The former, who tilled the ground, imparted their productions to their allies, who in return ſhared with them the fruits of their chace. Connected by their reciprocal wants, they mutually defended each other. During the ſeaſon when all the labours of agriculture were interrupted by the ſnow on the ground, they lived together. The Algonquins went a hunting: and the Iroquois ſtaid at home, to ſkin the beaſts, cure the fleſh, and dreſs the hides.

It happened one year that a party of Algonquins, who were not very dextrous, or much uſed to the chace, proved unſucceſsful. The Iroquois, who attended them, deſired leave to try whether they ſhould ſucceed better. This requeſt, which had ſometimes been complied with, was not granted. Irritated at this unſeaſonable refuſal, they went out privately in the night, and brought home a great number of animals. The Algonquins

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quins greatly mortified, to blot out the very remembrance of their diſgrace, waited till the Iroquois huntſmen were aſleep, and put them all to death. This maſſacre occaſioned a great alarm. The offended nation demanded juſtice, which was haughtily refuſed; and they were given to underſtand that they muſt not expect the ſmalleſt ſatisfaction.

The Iroquois, enraged at this contemptuous treatment, vowed that they would either be revenged, or that they would periſh in the attempt. But not being powerful enough to venture to attack their haughty adverſaries, they removed to a greater diſtance in order to try their ſtrength, and improve their military ſkill, by making war againſt ſome leſs formidable nations. As ſoon as they had learnt to approach like foxes, to attack like lions, and to fly like birds, as they expreſs themſelves, they were no longer afraid to encounter the Algonquins; and, therefore, carried on a war againſt them with a degree of ferociouſneſs proportionable to their reſentment.

It was juſt at the time when theſe animoſities were kindled throughout Canada, that the French made their firſt appearance in that country. The Montagnez, who inhabited the lower parts of the river St. Lawrence; the Algonquins, who were ſettled upon it's banks, from Quebec to Montreal; the Hurons, who were diſperſed about the lake that bears that name; and ſome leſs conſiderable nations, who wandered about in the intermediate ſpaces; were all inclined to favour the ſettlement of the ſtrangers: theſe ſeveral nations combined againſt

againſt the Iroquois, and, unable to withſtand them, imagined that they might find in their new gueſt an unexpected reſource, which would inſure them ſucceſs. From the opinion they entertained of the French, which ſeemed as if it were formed upon a thorough knowlege of their character, they flattered themſelves they might engage them in their quarrel, and were not diſappointed. Champlain, who ought to have availed himſelf of the ſuperior knowlege of the Europeans to effect a reconciliation between the Americans, did not even attempt it. He warmly eſpouſed the intereſts of his neighbours, and accompanied them in purſuit of their enemy.

THE country of the Iroquois was near eighty leagues in length, and more than forty in breadth. It was bounded by the lake Erie, the lake Ontario, the river St. Lawrence, and the celebrated countries ſince know'n by the names of New-York and Penſylvania. The ſpace between theſe vaſt limits was watered by ſeveral fine rivers, and was inhabited by five nations, which could bring about twenty thouſand warriors into the field; though they are now reduced to leſs than fifteen hundred. They formed a kind of league or aſſociation, not unlike that of the Swiſs or the Dutch. Their deputies met once a year, to hold their feaſt of union, and to deliberate on the intereſts of the commonwealth.

THOUGH the Iroquois did not expect to be again attacked by enemies who had ſo often been conquered, they were not unprepared. The engagement was begun with equal confidence on both ſides; one relying on their uſual ſuperiority; the other

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other on the aſſiſtance of their new ally, whoſe fire-arms could not fail of inſuring the victory. And, indeed, no ſooner had Champlain, and the two Frenchmen who attended him, fired a ſhot, which killed two chiefs of the Iroquois, and mortally wounded a third, than the whole army fled in the utmoſt amazement and conſternation.

THIS alteration in the mode of attack induced them to think of changing their mode of defence. In the next campaign, they judged it neceſſary to intrench themſelves, to elude the force of weapons they were unacquainted with. But their precaution was ineffectual. Notwithſtanding an obſtinate reſiſtance, their intrenchments were forced by the Indians, ſupported by a briſker fire from a greater number of Frenchmen, than appeared in the firſt expedition. The Iroquois were almoſt all killed or taken. Thoſe who had eſcaped from the engagement were precipitated into a river, and drowned.

THIS nation would probably have been deſtroyed, or compelled to live in peace, had not the Dutch, who in 1610 founded the colony of New Belgia in their neighbourhood, furniſhed them with arms and ammunition. Poſſibly too they might ſecretly foment their diviſions, the furs taken from the enemy during the continuance of hoſtilities being a greater object than thoſe they could procure from their own chace. However this may be, this connection reſtored the balance between both parties. Various hoſtilities and injuries were committed by each nation, which weakened the ſtrength of both. This perpetual

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ebb and flow of ſucceſs, which, in governments, actuated by motives of intereſt rather than of revenge, would infallibly have reſtored tranquillity, ſerved but to increaſe animoſities, and to exaſperate a number of little clans, bent upon each other's deſtruction. The conſequence was, that the weakeſt of theſe petty nations were ſoon deſtroyed; and the reſt were gradually reduced to nothing.

The French ſettlement makes no progreſs. The cauſe of this.

THESE deſtructive events did not however contribute to advance the power of the French. In 1627, they had only three wretched ſettlements, ſurrounded with pales. The largeſt of theſe contained but fifty inhabitants, including men, women, and children. The climate had not proved deſtructive to the people ſent there: though ſevere, it was wholeſome, and the Europeans ſtrengthened their conſtitutions without endangering their lives. The little progreſs they made was entirely owen to an excluſive company, whoſe chief deſigns were not ſo much intended to create a national power in Canada, as to enrich themſelves by the fur trade. This evil might have been immediately removed, by aboliſhing this monopoly, and allowing a free trade; but it was not then time to adopt ſo ſimple a theory. The government, however, choſe only to employ a more numerous aſſociation, compoſed of men of greater property and credit.

THEY gave them the diſpoſal of the ſettlements that were or ſhould be formed in Canada, together with a power of fortifying and governing them as they thought proper, and of making war or peace,

as

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as ſhould beſt promote their intereſt. The whole trade by ſea and land was allowed them for a term of fifteen years, except the cod and whale fiſheries, which were left open to all. The beaver and all the fur trade was granted to the company for ever.

To all theſe were added further encouragements. The king made a preſent of two large ſhips to the company, which conſiſted of ſeven hundred proprietors. Twelve of the principal were raiſed to the rank of nobility. Gentlemen, and even the clergy, already too rich, were invited to ſhare in this trade. The company were allowed the liberty of ſending and exporting all kinds of commodities and merchandiſe, free of any duty whatſoever. A perſon, who exerciſed any trade in the colony for the ſpace of ſix years, was entitled to the freedom of the ſame trade in France. The laſt favour granted them was the free entry of all goods manufactured in thoſe diſtant regions. This ſingular privilege, the motives of which it is not eaſy to diſcover, gave the manufacturers of New France an infinite advantage over thoſe of the mother-country, who were encumbered with a variety of duties, letters of maſterſhip, charges for ſtamps, and with all the impediments which ignorance and avarice had multiplied without end.

In return for ſo many marks of partiality, the company, which had a capital of a hundred thouſand crowns *, engaged to bring into the colony,

* 12,500 l.

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in the year 1628, which was the firſt year they enjoyed their charter, two or three hundred artificers of ſuch trades as were fitteſt for their purpoſe; and ſixteen thouſand men before the year 1643. They were to provide them with lodging and board, to maintain them for three years, and afterwards to give them as much cleared land as would be neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence, with a ſufficient quantity of grain to ſow it the firſt year.

FORTUNE did not ſecond the endeavours of govenment in favour of the new company. The firſt ſhips they fitted out were taken by the Engliſh, who were lately at variance with France, on account of the ſiege of Rochelle. Richelieu and Buckingham, who were enemies from jealouſy, from perſonal character, from ſtate intereſt, and from every motive that can excite an irreconcileable enmity between two ambitious miniſters, took this opportunity to ſpirit up the two kings they governed, and the two nations they were endeavouring to oppreſs. The Engliſh, who fought for their intereſts, gained the advantage over the French; and the latter loſt Canada in 1629. The council of Lewis XIII. were ſo little acquainted with the value of this ſettlement, that they were inclined not to demand the reſtitution of it; but the pride of the leading man, who, being at the head of the company, conſidered the incroachments of the Engliſh as a perſonal inſult, prevailed with them to alter their opinion. They met with leſs difficulty than they expected; and

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Canada was reſtored to the French, with peace, in 1631, by the treaty of St. Germain en Laye.

THE French were not taught by adverſity. The ſame ignorance, the ſame negligence, prevailed after the recovery of Canada as before. The monopolizing company fulfilled none of their engagements. This breach of faith, far from being puniſhed, was, in a manner, rewarded by a prolongation of their charter. The clamours of all Canada were diſregarded at ſuch a diſtance; and the deputies, ſent to repreſent it's wretched ſituation, were denied acceſs to the throne, where timid truth is never ſuffered to approach, but is awed into ſilence by threats and puniſhments. This behaviour, equally repugnant to humanity, private intereſt and good policy, was attended with ſuch conſequences as might naturally be expected from it.

THE French had formed their ſettlement improperly. In order to have the appearance of reigning over an immenſe track of country, and to draw nearer to the furs, they had placed their habitations at ſuch a diſtance from each other, that they had ſcarce any communication, and were unable to afford each other any aſſiſtance. The misfortunes which were the reſult of this imprudence had not produced any alteration in their conduct. The intereſt of the moment made them always forget the paſt, and prevented them from foreſeeing the future. They were not properly in a ſocial ſtate, ſince the magiſtrates could not ſuperintend

perintend their morals, nor government provide for the ſafety of their perſons and property.

THE audacious and ardent Iroquois ſoon perceived the defect of this conſtitution, and purſued meaſures to avail themſelves of it. The weak bands of ſavages which had been ſheltered from their fury, deprived of that ſupport which conſtituted their ſecurity, ſoon fled before them. This firſt ſucceſs inſpired the Iroquois with the hopes of compelling their protectors to croſs the ſea again, and even of being able to deprive theſe foreigners of their children, that with them they might fill the place of thoſe warriors they had loſt in the preceding wars. To avoid theſe calamities and humiliations, the French were obliged to erect, in each of the diſtricts which they occupied, a kind of fort, where they took refuge, and where they ſheltered their proviſions and their cattle, at the approach of theſe irreconcileable foes. Theſe paliſadoes, commonly ſupported by ſome indifferent guns, were never forced, and perhaps even never blocked up; but whatever was found on the outſide of the intrenchments, was either deſtroyed, or carried off by theſe barbarians. Such was the miſery and deplorable ſtate of the colony, that it was reduced to ſubſiſt upon the charitable contributions which the miſſionaries received from Europe.

The French are rouzed from their inactivity. Means by which this change was effected.

THE French miniſtry, at length awakened from their lethargy by that general commotion which at that time agitated every nation, ſent a body of four hundred well-diſciplined troops to Canada in 1662. This corps was reinforced two years after.

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The French gradually recovered an abſolute ſuperiority over the Iroquois. Three of their nations, alarmed at their loſſes, made propoſals for an accommodation; and the other two were ſo much weakened, that they were induced to accede to it in 1668. At this time the colony firſt enjoyed a profound peace, which paved the way for it's proſperity; and a freedom of trade contributed to ſecure it. The beaver trade alone continued to be monopolized.

This revolution in affairs excited induſtry. The former coloniſts, whoſe weakneſs had till then confined them within their ſettlements, now ventured to extend their plantations, and cultivated them with greater confidence and ſucceſs. All the ſoldiers, who conſented to ſettle in the New World, obtained their diſcharge, together with a grant of ſome property. The officers had lands given them in proportion to their rank. The former ſettlements were improved; and new ones eſtabliſhed, wherever the intereſt or ſafety of the colony required it. This ſpirit and activity occaſioned an increaſe of traffic with the Indians, and revived the intercourſe between both continents. This proſperity ſeemed likely to receive additional advantages from the care taken by the ſuperintendants of the colony, not only to preſerve friendſhip with the neighbouring nations, but likewiſe to eſtabliſh peace and harmony among themſelves. Not a ſingle act of hoſtility was committed throughout an extent of four or five hundred leagues; a circumſtance, perhaps, unhear'd-of before in North America. It ſhould

ſeem that the French had kindled the war at their arrival, only to extinguiſh it the more effectually.

But this concord could not continue among people who were always armed for the chace, unleſs the power that had effected it ſhould preſerve it by the ſuperiority of it's forces. The Iroquois, finding this precaution was neglected, reſumed that reſtleſs diſpoſition ariſing from their love of revenge and dominion. They were, however, careful to continue on good terms with all who were either allies or neighbours to the French. Notwithſtanding this moderation, they were told that they muſt immediately lay down their arms, and reſtore all the priſoners they had taken, or expect to ſee their country deſtroyed, and their habitations burnt down. This haughty ſummons incenſed their pride. They anſwered, that they ſhould never ſuffer the leaſt incroachment on their independence; and that they ſhould make the French ſenſible, that they were friends not to be neglected, and enemies not to be deſpiſed. But, as they were ſtaggered with the air of authority that had been aſſumed, they complied in part with the terms required of them; and the affair was thus compromiſed.

But this kind of humiliation rather increaſed the reſentment of a people more accuſtomed to commit than to ſuffer injuries. The Engliſh, who in 1664 had diſpoſſeſſed the Dutch of New Belgia, and remained maſters of the territory they had acquired, which they had called New York, availed themſelves of the diſpoſitions of the Iroquois.

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They not only excited the ſpirit of diſcord, but added preſents to induce them to break with the French. The ſame artifices were uſed to ſeduce the reſt of their allies. Thoſe who adhered to their allegiance were attacked. All were invited, and ſome compelled to bring their beaver and other furs to New York, where they ſold at a higher price than in the French colony.

DENONVILLE, who had lately been ſent to Canada to enforce obedience to the authority of the proudeſt of monarchs, was impatient of all theſe inſults. Though he was in a condition not only to defend his own frontiers, but even to incroach upon thoſe of the Iroquois; yet, ſenſible that this nation muſt not be attacked without being deſtroyed, it was agreed that the French ſhould remain in a ſtate of ſeeming inaction, till they had received from Europe the neceſſary reinforcements for executing ſo deſperate a reſolution. Theſe ſuccours arrived in 1687; and the colony had then 11,249 perſons, of whom about one-third were able to bear arms.

NOTWITHSTANDING this ſuperiority of forces, Denonville had recourſe to ſtratagem; and diſhonoured the French name among the ſavages by an infamous perfidy. Under pretence of terminating their differences by negociation, he baſely abuſed the confidence which the Iroquois repoſed in the Jeſuit Lamberville, to allure their chiefs to a conference. As ſoon as they arrived, they were put in irons, embarked at Quebec, and ſent to the gallies.

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On the first report of this treachery, the old men sent for their missionary, and addressed him in the following manner: "We are authorized by "every motive to treat you as an enemy, but we "cannot resolve to do it. Your heart has had no "share in the insult that has been put upon us; "and it would be unjust to punish you for a "crime you detest still more than ourselves. But "you must leave us. Our rash young men might "consider you in the light of a traitor, who has "delivered up the chiefs of our nation to shameful "slavery." After this speech, these savages, whom the Europeans have always called barbarians, gave the missionary some guides, who conducted him to a place of safety; and then both parties took up arms.

The French presently spread terror among the Iroquois bordering upon the great lakes; but Denonville had neither the activity nor the expedition necessary to improve these first successes. While he was taken up in deliberating, instead of acting, the campaign was closed without the acquisition of any permanent advantage. This increased the boldness of the Iroquois who lived near the French settlements, where they repeatedly committed the most dreadful ravages. The planters, finding their labours destroyed by these depredations, which deprived them of the means of repairing the damages they had sustained, ardently wished for peace. Denonville's temper coincided with their wishes; but it was no easy matter to pacify an enemy rendered implacable by ill usage. Lamberville, who still maintained his former ascendant

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over them, made overtures of peace, which were liſtened to.

WHILE theſe negociations were carrying on, a Machiavel, born in the foreſts, know'n by the name of Le Rat, the braveſt, the moſt reſolute, the moſt intelligent ſavage ever found in the wilds of North America, arrived at Fort Frontenac with a choſen band of Hurons, fully determined upon exploits worthy of the reputation he had acquired. He was told that a treaty was actually on foot; that the deputies of the Iroquois were upon the road to conclude it at Montreal; and that it would be an inſult upon the French governor, if hoſtilities ſhould be carried on againſt a nation with which they were negociating a peace.

LE RAT, piqued that the French ſhould thus enter into negociations without conſulting their allies, reſolved to puniſh them for their preſumption. He lay in wait for the deputies, ſome of whom were killed, and the reſt taken priſoners. When the latter told him the purport of their voyage, he feigned the greater ſurpriſe, as Denonville, he ſaid, had ſent him to intercept them. In order to carry on the deceit more ſucceſsfully, he immediately releaſed them all, except one, whom he pretended to keep, to replace one of his Hurons who had been killed in the fray. He then haſtened to Michillimakinac, where he preſented his priſoner to the French commandant, who, not knowing that Denonville was treating with the Iroquois, cauſed the unhappy ſavage to be put to death. Immediately after this, Le Rat ſent for an old Iroquois, who had long been a priſoner

priſoner among the Hurons, and gave him his liberty to go and acquaint his nation, that, while the French were amuſing their enemies with negociations, they continued to take priſoners and murder them. This artifice, worthy of the moſt infamous European policy, ſucceeded as the ſavage Le Rat deſired. The war was renewed with greater fury than ever, and laſted the longer, as the Engliſh, who about that period were engaged in a conteſt with France, on account of the depoſition of James II. thought it their intereſt to make an alliance with the Iroquois.

An Engliſh fleet, which ſailed from Europe in 1690, appeared before Quebec in October, to lay ſiege to the place. They had reaſon to expect but a faint reſiſtance, as the ſavages were to make a powerful diverſion, to draw off the principal land-forces of the colony. But they were compelled ſhamefully to relinquiſh the enterpriſe, after having ſuſtained great loſſes. The cauſes of this diſappointment merit ſome diſcuſſion.

When the Britiſh miniſtry projected the reduction of Canada, they determined that the land and ſea forces ſhould arrive there at the ſame time. This wiſe plan was executed with the utmoſt exactneſs. As the ſhips were ſailing up the river St. Lawrence, the troops marched by land, in order to reach the ſcene of action at the ſame inſtant as the fleet. They were nearly arrived, when the Iroquois, who conducted and ſupported them, recollected the hazard they ran in leading their allies to the conqueſt of Quebec. Situated

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as we are between two European nations, ſaid they in a council which they held, each powerful enough to deſtroy us, both intereſted in our deſtruction, when they no longer ſtand in need of our aſſiſtance; what better meaſure can we take, than to prevent the one from being victorious over the other? Then will each of them be compelled to court our alliance, or to bribe us to a neutrality. This ſyſtem, which ſeemed to be dictated by the ſame kind of deep policy as that which directs the balance of Europe, determined the Iroquois to return to their reſpective homes under various pretences. Their defection obliged the Engliſh to retreat; and the French, now in ſecurity on their lands, united all their forces with as much unanimity as ſucceſs for the defence of their capital.

The Iroquois, from motives of policy, ſtifled their reſentment againſt the French, and were attached rather to the name than to the intereſts of England. Theſe two European powers, therefore, irreconcileable rivals to each other, but ſeparated by the territory of a ſavage nation, equally apprehenſive of the ſuperiority of either, were prevented from doing each other ſo much injury as they could have wiſhed. The war was carried on merely by a few depredations, fatal to the coloniſts, but of little conſequence to the ſeveral nations concerned in them. During the ſcene of cruelties exerciſed by the ſeveral parties of Engliſh and Iroquois, French and Hurons, whoſe ravages extended one hundred leagues from home, ſome actions were performed, which

ſeemed

ſeemed to render human nature ſuperior to ſuch enormities.

SOME French and Indians having joined in an expedition that required a long march, their proviſions began to fail. The Hurons caught plenty of game, and always offered ſome to the French, who were not ſuch ſkilful huntſmen. The latter would have declined accepting this generous offer; *You ſhare with us the fatigues of war*, ſaid the ſavages; *it is but reaſonable that we ſhould ſhare with you the neceſſaries of life*; *we ſhould not be men if we acted otherwiſe with men*. If ſimilar inſtances of magnanimity may have ſometimes occurred among Europeans, the following is peculiar to ſavages.

A PARTY of Iroquois being informed that a party of the French and their allies were advancing with ſuperior forces, they fled with precipitation. They were headed by Onontague, who was a hundred years old. He ſcorned to fly with the reſt, and choſe rather to fall into the hands of the enemy; though he had nothing to expect but exquiſite torments. What a ſpectacle to ſee four hundred barbarians eager in tormenting an old man; who, far from complaining, treated the French with the utmoſt contempt, and upbraided the Hurons with having ſtooped to be the ſlaves of thoſe vile Europeans! One of his tormentors, provoked at his invectives, ſtabbed him in three places, to put an end to his repeated inſults. *Thou doſt wrong*, ſaid Onontague calmly to him, *to ſhorten my life*; *thou wouldſt have had more time to learn to die like a man*. And are theſe the men whom

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whom the French and Engliſh have been conſpiring to extirpate for a century paſt? But, perhaps, they would be aſhamed to live among ſuch models of heroiſm and magnanimity.

THE peace of Ryſwick put a ſudden end to the calamities of Europe and the hoſtilities in America. The Hurons and the Iroquois, as well as the French and Engliſh, were ſenſible that they required a long continuance of peace, to repair the loſſes they had ſuſtained in war. The Indians began to recover themſelves; the Europeans reſumed their labours; and the fur trade, the firſt that could be entered into with a nation of huntſmen, was more firmly eſtabliſhed.

The furs are the foundation of the connections between the French and the Indians.

BEFORE the diſcovery of Canada, the foreſts with which it was over-run were little more than the extenſive haunt of wild beaſts, which had multiplied prodigiouſly; becauſe the few men who lived in thoſe deſerts having no flocks or tame animals, left more room and more food for ſuch as were wandering and free like themſelves. If the nature of the climate did not afford an infinite variety, each ſpecies produced, at leaſt, a multitude of individuals. But they at laſt paid tribute to the ſovereignty of man, that cruel power which hath always been exerciſed in a manner ſo fatal to every living creature. Having neither arts nor huſbandry to employ them, the ſavages fed and clothed themſelves entirely with the wild beaſts they deſtroyed. As ſoon as luxury had led us to make uſe of their ſkins, the natives waged a perpetual war againſt them; which was the more active, as it procured them plenty,

and

and a variety of gratifications which they were unaccuſtomed to; and the more deſtructive, as they had adopted the uſe of our fire-arms. This fatal induſtry exerciſed in the woods of Canada, occaſioned a great quantity and prodigious variety of furs to be brought into the ports of France; ſome of which were conſumed in the kingdom, and the reſt diſpoſed of in the neighbouring countries. Moſt of theſe furs were already know'n in Europe; they came from the northern parts of our hemiſphere, but in too ſmall quantities to ſupply a general demand. Caprice and novelty have made them more or leſs in faſhion, ſince it has been found to be for the intereſt of the American colonies that they ſhould be valued in the mother-countries. It may not be improper to give ſome account of thoſe that are ſtill in requeſt.

THE otter is a voracious animal, which runs or ſwims along the banks or the lakes of rivers, commonly lives upon fiſh, and when that fails, will feed upon graſs, or the rind of aquatic plants. From his manner and place of living he has been ranked amongſt amphibious animals, who can equally live in the air and under water; but improperly, ſince the otter, like all other land animals, cannot live without reſpiration. He is found in all thoſe countries which abound in water, and are temperate, but is more common and much larger in the northern parts of America. His hair is no where ſo black or ſo fine; a circumſtance the more fatal to him, as it expoſes him more to the purſuits of man.

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THE pole-cat is in equal eſtimation among the Canadian huntſmen. There are three ſpecies of this animal; the firſt is the common pole-cat; the ſecond is called the mink; and the third, the ſtinking pole-cat, becauſe his urine, which he voids in his fright when he is purſued, is ſo offenſive, that it infects the air at a great diſtance. Their hair is darker, more gloſſy, and more ſilky than in Europe.

EVEN the rat in North-America is valuable for his ſkin. There are two ſorts eſpecially whoſe ſkin is an article of trade. The one, which is called the Opoſſum, is twice as large as an European rat. His hair is commonly of a ſilver grey; ſometimes of a clear white. The female has a bag under her belly, which ſhe can open and ſhut at pleaſure. When ſhe is purſued, ſhe puts her young ones into this bag, and runs away with them. The other, which is called the muſk-rat, becauſe his teſticles contain muſk, has all the characteriſtic qualities of the beaver, of which he ſeems to be a diminutive, and his ſkin is employed for the ſame purpoſes.

THE ermine, which is about the ſize of a ſquirrel, but not quite ſo long, has the ſame lively eyes, keen look, and his motions are ſo quick that the eye cannot follow them. The tip of his long and buſhy tail is as black as jet. His hair, which is yellow as gold in ſummer, turns as white as ſnow in winter. This lively and light animal is one of the beauties of Canada; but, though ſmaller than the Sable, is not ſo common.

THE

THE martin is only to be met with in cold countries, in the center of the foreſts, far from all habitations, is a beaſt of prey, and lives upon birds. Though it is but a foot and a half long, it leaves prints on the ſnow, that appear to be the footſteps of a very large animal; becauſe it always jumps along, and leaves the marks of both feet together. It's fur is much eſteemed, though far inferior to that ſpecies which is diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Sable. This is of a ſhining black. The fineſt among them are thoſe whoſe ſkin is the moſt brown, and reaches along the back quite to the tip of the tail. The martins ſeldom quit the inmoſt receſſes of their impenetrable woods more than once in two or three years. The natives think it portends a good winter; that is, a great quantity of ſnow, and conſequently good ſport.

THE animal which the ancients called Lynx, know'n in Siberia by the name of the Ounce, is only called the wild-cat in Canada, where it is ſmaller than in our hemiſphere. This animal, to whom vulgar error would not have attributed very piercing eyes, if he were not endowed with the faculty of ſeeing, hearing, and ſmelling at a diſtance, lives upon what game he can catch, which he purſues to the very tops of the talleſt trees. His fleſh is know'n to be very white and well flavoured; but he is hunted chiefly for the ſake of his ſkin; the hair of which is very long, and of a fine light grey, but leſs eſteemed than that of the fox.

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THIS carnivorous and miſchievous animal is a native of the frozen climates, where nature affording few vegetables, ſeems to compel all animals to eat one another. In warmer climates he has loſt much of his original beauty, and his fur is not ſo fine. In the north, it has remained long, ſoft, and full, ſometimes white, ſometimes brown, and often red or ſandy. The fineſt of any is that which is black; but this is more ſcarce in Canada than in Muſcovy, which lies further north, and is not ſo damp.

BESIDE theſe ſmaller furs, North-America ſupplies us with ſkins of the ſtag, the deer, and the roe-buck; of the mooze-deer, called there Caribou; and of the elk, which is called Orignal. Theſe two laſt kinds, which in our hemiſphere are only found towards the polar circle, the elk on this ſide, and the mooze-deer beyond, are to be met with in America in more ſouthern latitudes. This may be owen to the cold being more intenſe in America, from ſingular cauſes which make an exception to the general law of nature; or it may poſſibly ariſe from theſe freſh lands being leſs frequented by deſtructive man. Their ſtrong, ſoft, and warm ſkins make excellent garments, which are very light. All theſe animals are hunted by the Europeans; but the ſavages have reſerved the chace of the bear to themſelves, it being their favourite ſport, and beſt adapted to their warlike manners, their ſtrength and their bravery, and eſpecially to their wants.

IN a cold and ſevere climate, the bear is moſt commonly black. As he is rather ſhy than fierce,

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inſtead of a cavern, he chuſes for his lurking-place the hollow rotten trunk of an old tree. There he fixes himſelf in winter, as high as he can climb. As he is very fat at the end of autumn, very much covered with hair, takes no exerciſe, and is almoſt always aſleep, he muſt loſe but little by perſpiration, and conſequently muſt ſeldom want to go abroad in queſt of food. But he is forced out of his retreat by it's being ſet fire to; and as ſoon as he attempts to come down, he falls under a ſhower of arrows before he can reach the ground. The Indians feed upon his fleſh, rub themſelves with his greaſe, and clothe themſelves with his ſkin. Such was the deſign of their purſuit after the bear, when a new intereſt directed them towards the beaver.

Figure of the beavers. Their diſpoſition, and form of government.

THIS animal poſſeſſes all the friendly diſpoſitions fit for ſociety, without being ſubject, as we are, to the vices or misfortunes attendant upon it. Formed by nature for ſocial life, he is endowed with an inſtinct adapted to the preſervation and propagation of his ſpecies. This animal, whoſe tender plaintive accents, and whoſe ſtriking example, draw tears of admiration and pity from the humane philoſopher, who contemplates his life and manners; this harmleſs animal, who never hurts any living creature, neither carnivorous nor ſanguinary, is become the object of man's moſt earneſt purſuit, and the one which the ſavages hunt after with the greateſt eagerneſs and cruelty: a circumſtance owen to the unmerciful rapaciouſneſs of the moſt poliſhed nations of Europe.

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THE beaver is about three or four feet long, but his weight amounts to forty or ſixty pounds, which is the conſequence of the largeneſs of his muſcles. His head, which he carries downwards, is like that of a rat, and his back raiſed in an arch above it like that of a mouſe. Lucretius has obſerved, not that man has hands given him to make uſe of them, but that he had hands given him, and has made uſe of them. Thus the beaver has webs at his hinder feet, and he ſwims with them. The toes of his fore-feet are ſeparate, and anſwer the purpoſe of hands; the tail, which is flat, oval, and covered with ſcales, he uſes to carry loads and to work with; he has four ſharp inciſors or cutting teeth, which ſerve him inſtead of carpenter's tools. All theſe inſtruments, which are in a manner uſeleſs while he lives alone, and do not then diſtinguiſh him from other animals, are of infinite ſervice when he lives in ſociety, and enable him to diſplay a degree of ingenuity ſuperior to all inſtinct.

WITHOUT paſſions, without a deſire of doing injury to any, and without craft, when he does not live in ſociety, he ſcarcely ventures to defend himſelf. He never bites unleſs he be caught. But in the ſocial ſtate, in lieu of weapons, he has a variety of contrivances to ſecure himſelf without fighting, and to live without committing or ſuffering any injury. This peaceable and even tame animal is nevertheleſs independent; he is a ſlave to none, becauſe all his wants are ſupplied by himſelf: he enters into ſociety, but will not ſerve,

nor does he pretend to command: and all his labours are directed by a ſilent inſtinct.

It is the common want of ſubſiſtence and propagation that calls the beavers home, and collects them together in ſummer to build their towns againſt winter. As early as June or July, they come in from all quarters, and aſſemble, to the number of two or three hundred; but always by the water-ſide, becauſe theſe republicans are to live on the water, to ſecure themſelves from invaſion. Sometimes they give the preference to ſtill lakes, in unfrequented diſtricts, becauſe there the waters are always at an equal height. When they find no pools of ſtanding water, they make one in the midſt of rivers or ſtreams, by means of a cauſeway or dam. The very plan of this contrivance implies ſuch a complication of ideas, as our ſhort-ſighted reaſon would be apt to think above any capacity but that of an intelligent being. The firſt thing to be erected is a pile a hundred feet long, and twelve feet thick at the baſis, which ſhelves away to two or three feet in a ſlope anſwerable to the depth of the waters. To ſave work, or to facilitate their labour, they chuſe the ſhalloweſt part of the river. If they find a large tree by the water-ſide, they fell it, ſo that it falls acroſs the ſtream. If it ſhould be larger in circumference than a man's body, they ſaw it through, or rather gnaw the foot with their four ſharp teeth. The branches are ſoon lopped off by theſe induſtrious workmen, who want to faſhion it into a beam. A number of ſmaller trees are felled and prepared for the intended pile.

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Some drag theſe trees to the river-ſide, others ſwim over with them to the place where the cauſeway is to be raiſed. But the queſtion is, how theſe animals are to ſink them in the water with the aſſiſtance only of their teeth, tail, and feet: their contrivance is this. With their nails they dig a hole in the ground, or at the bottom of the water. With their teeth they reſt the large end of the ſtake againſt the bank of the river, or againſt the great beam that lies acroſs. With their feet they raiſe the ſtake and ſink it with the ſharp end downwards into the hole, where it ſtands upright. With their tails they make mortar, with which they fill up all the vacancies between the ſtakes, which are bound together with twiſted boughs; and thus the pile is conſtructed. The ſlope of the dam is oppoſite to the current, to break more effectually the force of the water by a gradual reſiſtance, and the ſtakes are driven in obliquely, in proportion to the inclination of the plane. The ſtakes are planted perpendicularly on the ſide where the water is to fall; and, in order to open a drain which may leſſen the effect of the ſlope and weight of the cauſeway, they make two or three openings at the top of it, by which part of the waters of the river may run off.

When this work is finiſhed by the whole body of the republic, every member conſiders of a lodging for himſelf. Each company builds a hut in the water upon the pile. Theſe huts are from four to ten feet in diameter, upon an oval or round ſpot. Some are two or three ſtories high, according

according to the number of families or houſeholds. Each hut contains at leaſt two or three, and ſome ten or fifteen. The walls, whether high or low, are about two feet thick, and are all arched at the top, and perfectly neat and ſolid both within and without. They are varniſhed with a kind of ſtucco, impenetrable by the water and by the external air. Every apartment has two openings, one on the land ſide, to enable the beavers to go out and fetch proviſions; the other on the ſide next the ſtream, to facilitate their eſcape, at the approach of the enemy; that is, of man, the deſtroyer of cities and commonwealths. The window of the houſe opens to the water. There they take the freſh air in the day-time, plunged into the river up to their middle. In winter it ſerves to fence them againſt the ice, which collects to the thickneſs of two or three feet. The ſhelf, intended to prevent the ice from ſtopping up this window, reſts upon two ſtakes that ſlope ſo as to carry off the water from the houſe, and leave an outlet to eſcape, or to go and ſwim under the ice. The inſide of the houſe has no other furniture than a flooring of graſs, covered with the boughs of the fir-tree. No filth of any kind is ever ſeen in theſe apartments.

The materials for theſe buildings are always to be found in their neighbourhood. Theſe are alders, poplars, and other trees, delighting in watery places, as theſe republicans do who build their apartments of them. Theſe citizens have the ſatisfaction, at the ſame time that they faſhion the wood, to nouriſh themſelves with it. Like

certain ſavages of the frozen ocean, they eat the bark. The ſavages, indeed, do not like it till it is dried, pounded, and properly dreſſed; whereas the beavers chew it, and ſuck it when it is quite green.

Provisions of bark and tender twigs are laid up in ſeparate ſtore-houſes, for every hut, proportionable to the number of it's inhabitants. Every beaver knows his own ſtore-houſe, and not one of them ſteals from that of his neighbour. Each party live in their own habitation, and are contented with it, though jealous of the property they have acquired in it by their labour. The proviſions of the community are collected and expended without any conteſt. They are ſatisfied with that ſimple food which their labour prepares for them. The only paſſion they have, is that of conjugal affection, the baſis and end of which is the increaſe of their ſpecies.

Two of theſe animals, matched together and united by inclination and reciprocal choice, after being acquainted with each other by being mutually employed in the public labours during the ſummer months, agree to paſs the winter together. They prepare for this by the ſtock of proviſions they lay up in September. The happy couple retire into their hut in the autumnal ſeaſon, which is not leſs favourable to love than the ſpring. If the ſeaſon of flowers invite the birds of the ſky to propagate in the woods, the ſeaſon of fruits, perhaps, excites the inhabitants of the earth as powerfully to the reproduction of their ſpecies. The winter at leaſt gives leiſure for

for amorous purſuits, and in this circumſtance compenſates the advantages of other ſeaſons. The couple then never quit each other. Their whole time is conſecrated to love; from which neither labour nor any other object can divert them. The females conceive, and bear the endearing pledges of this univerſal paſſion of nature. If ſome ſunſhiny day ſhould chance to enliven this melancholy ſeaſon, the happy couple go out of their hut, to walk on the borders of the lake or the river, there to eat ſome freſh bark, and to breathe the ſalutary exhalations of the earth. Towards the end of winter, however, the mothers bring forth their young ones, which have been conceived in autumn; and while the father ranges all the woods, allured by the ſweets of the ſpring, leaving to his little family the room he took up in his narrow cell, the mother ſuckles and nurſes them, to the number of two or three; then ſhe takes them out along with her in her excurſions, in ſearch of cray and other fiſh, and green bark, to recruit her own ſtrength, and to feed them, till the ſeaſon of labour returns.

THUS doth this republic live in ſocieties, which might diſtantly be compared to a large Carthuſian convent. But they have only the appearance of it; and if happineſs may be ſaid to dwell in theſe two ſorts of communities, it muſt be acknowleged that it is by very oppoſite means; ſince in the former, happineſs conſiſts in following nature; while in the latter, it conſiſts in thwarting and deſtroying her. But man, in his folly, thinks he has found out the path of wiſ-

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dom. A number of perſons live together in a kind of ſociety, which precludes for ever all intercourſe between the two ſexes. The men and the women are placed in diſtinct cells, where, to make them happy, nothing more would be required, than that they ſhould live together. There they conſume their beſt days, in ſtifling, or in execrating the propenſity that attracts them to each other, even through the priſons and grates of iron, which have been raiſed to prevent them from indulging every tender and innocent emotion of the heart. Can any thing be more injurious, as well as inhuman, than theſe gloomy and ferocious inſtitutions, which deprive man of his nature, and render him ſtupid and ſilly, under pretence of making him ſimilar to angels? God of Nature! It is at thy tribunal that we muſt appeal, againſt all thoſe laws, which injure the moſt beautiful among thy works, by condemning them to a ſtate of ſterility, contrary to thine own inſtitutions! For art thou not a truly plaſtic and fruitful Being; thou who hath created man from nothing, and taken him out of chaos; thou, who doth continually cauſe life to be renewed even from death itſelf? Who is it that beſt ſings forth thy praiſes, the ſolitary being who diſturbs the ſilence of the night to celebrate thee among the tombs, or the happy people, who glorify thee, in perpetuating the wonders of thy works?

Such is the ſyſtem of the republican, induſtrious, intelligent beaver, ſkilled in architecture, provident and ſyſtematical in it's plans of police and ſociety, whoſe gentle and inſtructive manners

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we have been deſcribing. Happy, if his coat did not tempt mercileſs and ſavage man to deſtroy his buildings and his race. It has frequently happened, when the Americans have demoliſhed the ſettlements of the beavers, that thoſe indefatigable animals have had the reſolution to rebuild them in the very ſame ſituation for ſeveral ſummers ſucceſſively. The winter is the time for attacking them. Experience then warns them of their danger. At the approach of the huntſmen, one of them ſtrikes a hard ſtroke with his tail upon the water; this ſignal ſpreads a general alarm throughout all the huts of the commonwealth, and every one tries to ſave himſelf under the ice. But it is very difficult to eſcape all the ſnares that are laid for this harmleſs tribe.

SOMETIMES the huntſmen lie in wait for them; but as theſe animals ſee and hear at a great diſtance, it ſeldom happens that they are ſhot by the water-ſide, and they never venture ſo far upon land as to be caught by ſurpriſe. If the beaver be wounded before he takes to the water, he has always time enough to plunge in; and, if he dies afterwards, he is loſt, becauſe he ſinks, and never riſes again.

A MORE certain way of catching beavers is, by laying traps in the woods, where they eat the tender bark of young trees. Theſe traps are baited with freſh ſlips of wood, and as ſoon as the beavers touch them, a great weight falls and cruſhes their loins. The man, who is concealed near the place, haſtens to it, ſeizes the animal, and having killed it, carries it off.

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THERE are other methods more commonly and ſucceſsfully practiſed. The huts are ſometimes attacked, in order to drive out the inhabitants, who are watched at the edges of the holes that have been bored in the ice, where they cannot avoid coming to take in freſh air. The inſtant they appear, they are killed. At other times, the animal, driven out of his retreat, is entangled in the nets, ſpread for ſome toiſes round his hut, the ice being broken for that purpoſe. If the whole colony is to be taken at once, inſtead of breaking down the ſluices to drown the inhabitants, a ſcheme that might, perhaps, be tried with effect in Holland, the cauſeway is opened, in order to drain off the water from the pool where the beavers live. When they are thus left dry, defenceleſs, and unable to eſcape, they may be caught at pleaſure, and deſtroyed at any time; but care is always taken to leave a ſufficient number of males and females to preſerve the breed; an act of generoſity, which in reality proceeds only from avarice. The cruel foreſight of man only ſpares a few, in order to have the more to deſtroy. The beaver, whoſe plaintive cry ſeems to implore his clemency and pity, finds in the ſavage, rendered cruel by the Europeans, only an implacable enemy, whoſe enterpriſes are undertaken, not ſo much to ſupply his own wants, as to furniſh ſuperfluities to another world.

IF we compare the manners, the police, and the induſtry of the beavers, with the wandering life of the ſavages of Canada; we ſhall be inclined to admit, making allowance for the ſuperiority of man's

man's faculties above thoſe of animals, that the beaver was much further advanced in the arts of ſocial life, than his purſuer, when the Europeans firſt brought their talents and improvements to North-America.

THE beaver, an older inhabitant of that world than man, and the quiet poſſeſſor of regions ſo well adapted to his ſpecies, had employed that tranquillity he had enjoyed for many ages, in the improvement of his faculties. In our hemiſphere, man has ſeized upon the moſt wholeſome and fertile regions, and has driven out or ſubdued all other animals. If the bee and the ant have preſerved their laws and government from the jealous and deſtructive dominion of tyrant man, it has been owen to the ſmallneſs of their ſize. It is thus we ſee ſome republics in Europe, without ſplendour or ſtrength, maintain themſelves by their very weakneſs, in the midſt of vaſt monarchies, which muſt ſooner or later ſwallow them up. But the ſocial quadrupeds, baniſhed into uninhabited climates, unfit for their increaſe, have been unconnected in all places, incapable of uniting into a community, or of improving their natural ſagacity; while man, who has reduced them to that precarious ſtate, exults in their degradation, and ſets a high value on that ſuperior nature and thoſe rational powers, which conſtitute a perpetual diſtinction between his ſpecies and all others.

BRUTES, we are told, bring nothing to perfection: their operations, therefore, can only be mechanical, and do not imply any principle ſimilar

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to that which actuates man. Without examining in what perfection conſiſts; whether the moſt civilized being be in reality the moſt perfect; whether he does not loſe in the property of his perſon what he acquires in the property of things; or, whether what is added to his enjoyments is not ſo much ſubtracted from his duration: it muſt be acknowleged, that the beaver, which in Europe is a wandering, ſolitary, timorous and ſtupid animal, was in Canada acquainted with civil and domeſtic government; knew how to diſtinguiſh the proper ſeaſons for labour and reſt, was acquainted with ſome rules of architecture, and with the curious and learned art of conſtructing dikes; yet he had attained to this degree of improvement with feeble and imperfect tools. He can hardly ſee the work he performs with his tail. His teeth, which anſwer the purpoſes of a variety of tools, are circular, and confined by the lips. Man, on the contrary, with hands fit for every purpoſe, hath in this ſingle organ of the touch all the combined powers of ſtrength and dexterity. Is it not to this advantage of organization that he owes the ſuperiority of his ſpecies above all others? It is not becauſe his eyes are turned toward heaven, as thoſe of all birds are, that he is the lord of the creation; it is becauſe he is provided with hands, capable of every exertion, and of adapting themſelves to every ſpecies of induſtry: hands, ever ready to ſtrike terror into his enemies, to defend or to aſſiſt him. His hand is his ſceptre, that arm which he lifts up to heaven, to find out, as it were,

were, his origin; he, at the ſame time, marks his dominion with it over the earth, by deſtroying and ravaging the face of the globe. The ſureſt ſign of the population of mankind is the depopulation of other ſpecies. That of the beavers gradually decreaſes and diſappears in Canada, ſince the Europeans have been in queſt of their ſkins.

THEIR ſkins vary with the climate, both in colour and quality. In the ſame diſtrict, however, where the colonies of civilized beavers are found, there are ſome that are wild and ſolitary. Theſe animals, who are ſaid to be expelled the ſociety for their ill behaviour, live in a ſubterraneous retreat, and have neither lodging nor ſtorehouſe. They are called earth beavers. Their coat is dirty, and the hair on their backs is wor'n off by rubbing againſt the cave which they dig for their habitation. The hole they make, and which commonly opens into ſome pond or ditch full of water, ſometimes extends above a hundred feet in length, and riſes gradually in a ſlope, to facilitate their eſcape from inundations when the waters ſwell. Some of theſe beavers are ſo wild as to diſclaim all communication with their natural element, and live entirely on land. In this they reſemble our otters in Europe. Theſe wild beavers have not ſuch ſleek hair as thoſe that live in ſocieties; their furs are anſwerable to their manners.

BEAVERS are found in America from the thirtieth to the ſixtieth degree of north latitude. There are but few towards the ſouth; but they increaſe

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increaſe in number, and grow darker, as we advance towards the north. In the country of the Illinois, they are yellow and ſtraw-coloured; higher up in the country, they are of a light cheſnut; to the north of Canada, of a dark cheſnut; and ſome are found that are quite black, and theſe are reckoned the fineſt. Yet, in this climate, the coldeſt that is inhabited by this ſpecies, ſome among the black tribes are quite white; others white, ſpeckled with grey, and ſometimes with ſandy ſpots on the rump; ſo much does nature delight in ſhewing the gradations of warmth and cold, and their various influences, not only on the figure, but on the very covering of animals. The value that is ſet upon them, depends upon the colour of their ſkins. Some of them are ſo little in eſteem, that it is not thought worth while to kill them; but theſe are not commonly found.

In what places, and in what manner, the fur trade was carried on.

THE fur trade was the firſt which the Europeans carried on in Canada. It was begun by the French colony at Tadouſac, a port ſituated thirty leagues below Quebec. About the year 1640, the town of Les Trois Rivieres, at the diſtance of twenty-five leagues above the capital, became a ſecond mart. In proceſs of time all the fur trade centered in Montreal. The ſkins were brought thither on canoes made of the bark of trees, in the month of June. The number of Indians who reſorted to that place increaſed, as the fame of the French ſpread further. The account of the reception they had met with, the ſight of the things they had received in exchange for their goods, all contributed

tributed to increaſe this traffic. Whenever they returned with a freſh ſupply of furs, they always brought a new nation along with them. Thus a kind of fair was opened, to which the ſeveral tribes of that vaſt continent reſorted.

The Engliſh grew jealous of this branch of wealth; and the colony they had founded at New York, ſoon found means to divert the ſtream of this great circulation. As ſoon as they had ſecured a ſubſiſtence, by beſtowing their firſt attention upon agriculture, they began to think of the fur trade, which was at firſt confined to the country of the Iroquois. The five nations of that name would not ſuffer their lands to be traverſed, in order to give an opportunity of treating with other ſavage nations, who were at conſtant enmity with them; nor would they allow thoſe nations to come upon their territories, to ſhare in competition with them the profits of the trade they had opened with the Europeans. But time having extinguiſhed, or rather ſuſpended, the national hoſtilities between the Indians, the Engliſh ſpread themſelves over the country, and the ſavages flocked to them from all quarters. This nation had infinite advantages to give them the preference to their rivals the French. Their voyages were carried on with greater facility, and conſequently they could afford to underſell them. They were the only manufacturers of the coarſe cloths that were moſt ſuitable to the ſavages. The beaver trade was free among them; whereas, among the French, it was, and ever has been, ſubject to the tyranny of monopoly. It was by this

this freedom, and theſe privileges, that they engroſſed moſt of the trade that rendered Montreal ſo famous.

At this time the French in Canada indulged themſelves more freely in a cuſtom, which at firſt had been confined within narrow bounds. Their inclination for frequenting the woods, which was that of the firſt coloniſts, had been wiſely reſtrained within the limits of the territory belonging to the colony. Permiſſion was, however, granted every year to twenty-five perſons to go beyond theſe limits, in order to trade with the Indians. The ſuperiority which New-York was acquiring, was the cauſe of increaſing the number of theſe permiſſions. They were a kind of patents, which the patentees might make uſe of either in perſon or by proxy, and continued a year or more. The produce of the ſale of theſe patents was aſſigned, by the governor of the colony, to the officers, or their widows and children, to hoſpitals and miſſionaries, to ſuch as had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by ſome great action, or ſome uſeful undertaking; and ſometimes even to the creatures of the governor, who ſold the patents himſelf. The money he did not give away, or did not chuſe to keep, was put into the public coffers; but he was not accountable to any one for the management of it.

This cuſtom was attended with fatal conſequences. Many of theſe traders ſettled among the Indians, to defraud their partners, whoſe goods they had diſpoſed of. A greater number ſettled among the Engliſh, where the profits were greater.

The immenſe lakes, frequently agitated with violent ſtorms; the caſcades, which render navigation ſo dangerous up the broadeſt rivers in the whole world; the weight of the canoes, the proviſions, and the bales of goods, which they were forced to carry upon their ſhoulders at the *carrying places*, where the rapidity or ſhallowneſs of the water obliged them to quit the rivers, and purſue their journey by land, proved the deſtruction of ſeveral perſons. Some periſhed in the ſnow and on the ice, by hunger, or by the ſword of the enemy. Thoſe who returned to the colony with a profit of ſix or ſeven hundred per cent. were not always on that account more uſeful members, as they gave themſelves up to the greateſt exceſſes, and by their example produced in others a diſlike to attention and induſtry. Their fortunes were diſſipated as ſuddenly as they were amaſſed; like thoſe moving mountains which a whirlwind raiſes and deſtroys at once, on the ſandy plains of Africa. Moſt of theſe travelling traders, exhauſted with the exceſſive fatigues which their avarice prompted them to undergo, and the licentiouſneſs of a wandering and diſſolute life, dragged on a premature old age in indigence and infamy. The government took cognizance of theſe irregularities, and changed the manner of carrying on the fur trade.

The French had for a long time been inceſſantly employed in erecting a number of forts, which were thought neceſſary for the preſervation and aggrandizement of their ſettlements in North America. Thoſe built on the weſt and ſouth of the

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the river St. Lawrence were large and ſtrong, and were intended to reſtrain the ambition of the Engliſh. Thoſe which were conſtructed on the ſeveral lakes, in the moſt important poſitions, formed a chain which extended northward to the diſtance of a thouſand leagues from Quebec; but they were only miſerable palliſades, intended to keep the Indians in awe, to ſecure their alliance, and the produce of their chace. There was a garriſon in each, more or leſs numerous, according to the importance of the poſt, and of the enemies who threatened it. It was thought proper to intruſt the commandant of each of theſe forts with the excluſive right of buying and ſelling in the whole diſtrict under his dominion. This privilege was purchaſed; but as it was always advantageous, and ſometimes was the means of acquiring a conſiderable fortune, it was only granted to officers that were moſt in favour. If any of theſe had not a ſtock ſufficient for the undertaking, he could eaſily prevail with ſome monied men to join with him. It was pretended that this ſyſtem, far from being detrimental to the ſervice, was a means of promoting it, as it obliged the military men to keep up more conſtant connections with the natives, to watch their motions, and to neglect nothing that could ſecure their friendſhip. It was not foreſeen, or at leaſt pretended not to be ſo by any, that ſuch an arrangement muſt neceſſarily prevail over every principle, except that of intereſt, and would be a ſource of perpetual oppreſſion.

This tyranny, which ſoon became univerſal, was ſeverely felt at Frontenac, at Niagara, and at Toronto. The farmers of thoſe three forts, making an ill uſe of their excluſive privilege, ſet ſo low a value upon the merchandize that was brought them, and rated their own ſo high, that by degrees the Indians, inſtead of ſtopping there, reſorted in great numbers to Chouaguen, on the lake Ontario, where the Engliſh traded with them upon more advantageous terms. The French court, alarmed at the account of theſe new connections, found means to weaken them, by taking the trade of theſe three poſts into their own hands, and treating the Indians ſtill better than they were treated by their rivals the Engliſh.

In conſequence of this ſtep, the refuſe of all thoſe furs that were not ſaleable became the ſole property of the king; and all the ſkins of thoſe beaſts that were killed in ſummer and autumn were readily given him; in a word, all the moſt ordinary furs, the thinneſt, and moſt eaſily ſpoiled, were reſerved for the king. All theſe damaged furs, bought without examination, were careleſly depoſited in warehouſes, and eaten up by the moths. At the proper ſeaſon for ſending them to Quebec, they were put into boats, and left to the diſcretion of ſoldiers, paſſengers, and watermen, who, having had no concern in thoſe commodities, did not take the leaſt care to keep them dry. When they came into the hands of the managers of the colony, they were ſold for one half of the ſmall value they had. Thus the re-

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turns were rather leſs than the ſums advanced by the government in ſuport of this loſing trade.

But though this trade was of no conſequence to the king, it is ſtill a matter of doubt if it were advantageous to the Indians, though gold and ſilver were not the dangerous medium of their traffic. They received, indeed, in exchange for their furs, ſaws, knives, hatchets, kettles, fiſh-hooks, needles, thread, ordinary linen, and coarſe woollen ſtuffs; all which may be conſidered as the means or pledges of intercourſe with them. But articles were likewiſe ſold them that would have proved prejudicial to them, even as a gift or a preſent; ſuch as guns, powder and ſhot, tobacco, and eſpecially brandy.

This liquor, the moſt fatal preſent the Old World ever made to the New, was no ſooner know'n to the ſavages, than they grew paſſionately fond of it. It was equally impoſſible for them to abſtain from it, or to uſe it with moderation. It was ſoon obſerved that it diſturbed their domeſtic peace, deprived them of their judgment, and made them furious; and that it occaſioned huſbands, wives, children, brothers, and ſiſters, to abuſe and quarrel with one another. In vain did ſome worthy Frenchmen expoſtulate with them, and endeavour to make them aſhamed of theſe exceſſes. It is you, anſwered they, who have taught us to drink this liquor; and now we cannot do without it. If you refuſe to give it us, we will apply to the Engliſh. You have done the miſchief, and it admits not of a remedy.

THE court of France, upon receiving contradictory information with reſpect to the diſorders occaſioned by this pernicious trade, hath alternately prohibited, tolerated, and authorized it, according to the light in which it was repreſented to the miniſtry. Notwithſtanding all theſe various alterations, the intereſt of the merchants was nearly the ſame. The ſale of brandy was ſeldom decreaſed. It was, however, conſidered by judicious people, as the principal cauſe of the diminution of the human race, and conſequently that of the ſkins of beaſts; a diminution which became every day more evident.

THIS decline of the fur trade was not yet ſo remarkable as it has been ſince, when the promotion of the duke of Anjou to the throne of Charles V. ſpread an alarm over all Europe, and plunged it once more into the horrors of a general war. The conflagration extended beyond the ſeas, and was advancing even to Canada, had not the Iroquois put a ſtop to it. The Engliſh and French had long been contending to ſecure an alliance with that nation. Theſe marks of eſteem or fear had ſo far increaſed their natural pride, that they conſidered themſelves as the umpires of the two rival nations, and pretended that the conduct of both was to be regulated by their intereſt. As they were inclined to peace at that time, they haughtily declared that they would take up arms againſt either of the two nations, which ſhould commence hoſtilities againſt the other. This reſolution was favourable to the ſituation of the French colony, which was ill prepared for a war, and expected no aſſiſtance from

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the mother-country. The people of New-York, on the contrary, whoſe forces were already conſiderable, and received daily reinforcements, wiſhed to prevail upon the Iroquois to join with them. Their inſinuations, preſents, and negociations were, however, ineffectual till 1709; at which period they ſucceeded in ſeducing four of the five nations; and their troops, which till then had remained inactive, marched out, ſupported by a great number of Indian warriors.

THE army was confidently advancing towards the center of Canada with the greateſt probability of ſucceſs, when one of the chiefs of the Iroquois, who had never approved of their proceedings, plainly ſaid to his people, "What will become "of us, if we ſhould ſucceed in driving away the "French?" Theſe few words, uttered with a myſterious and anxious look, immediately recalled to the minds of all the people their former ſyſtem, which was to keep the balance even between the two foreign nations, in order to ſecure their own independence. They inſtantly reſolved to relinquiſh a deſign they had been too precipitately engaged in, contrary to the public intereſt; but as they thought it would be ſhameful openly to deſert their aſſociates, they imagined that ſecret treachery might ſerve the purpoſe of open defection. The lawleſs ſavages, the virtuous Spartans, the religious Hebrews, the wiſe and warlike Greeks and Romans; all people, whether civilized or not, have always made what is called the right of nations conſiſt either in craft or violence.

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THE army had halted on the banks of a little river to wait for the artillery and ammunition. The Iroquois, who ſpent their leiſure hours in hunting, flayed all the beaſts they caught, and threw their ſkins into the river, a little above the camp. The waters were ſoon infected. The Engliſh, who had not any ſuſpicion of ſuch an inſtance of treachery, continued unfortunately to drink of the waters that were thus rendered poiſonous; in conſequence of which, ſuch conſiderable numbers of them immediately died, that it became neceſſary to ſuſpend the military operations.

A STILL more imminent danger threatened the French colony. A numerous fleet, deſtined againſt Quebec, and which had five or ſix thouſand troops on board, entered the river St. Lawrence the following year, and would probably have ſucceeded, had it reached the place of it's deſtination. But the raſhneſs of the admiral, joined to the violence of the elements, was the cauſe of it's being loſt in the paſſage. Thus was Canada at once delivered from it's fears both by ſea and land, and had the glory of maintaining itſelf without ſuccours and without loſs, againſt the ſtrength and policy of the Engliſh.

France is compelled to cede part of the provinces that were united to Canada.

FRANCE, in the mean time, which for forty years had ſingly withſtood the combined efforts of all Europe, vanquiſhed or repulſed all the nations united againſt her, gained that point under Lewis XIV. which Charles V. had not been able to do with the innumerable troops of his ſeveral kingdoms; France, which had at that period

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produced as many great men as would have rendered immortal a ſeries of twenty reigns, and under one in particular had ſignaliſed herſelf by as many great actions as might have raiſed the glory of twenty different nations, was then upon the point of crowning all her glorious ſucceſſes by placing a branch of the houſe of Bourbon on the throne of Spain. She had then fewer enemies, and a greater number of allies, than ſhe ever had in the moſt brilliant periods of her proſperity. Every thing concurred to promiſe her an eaſy ſucceſs, a ſpeedy and deciſive ſuperiority.

It was not fortune, but nature itſelf, that changed her deſtiny. Proud and flouriſhing under a king endowed with the graces and vigour of youth, after having riſen with him through the ſeveral degrees of glory and grandeur, ſhe ſank with him through all the periods of decay incident to human nature. The ſpirit of bigotry, which had been introduced into the court by an ambitious woman, determined the choice of miniſters, generals, and governors; and this choice was always blind and unfortunate. Kings, who, like other men, have recourſe to heaven when they are ready to quit the earth, ſeem in their old age to ſeek for a new ſet of flatterers, who ſooth them with hopes, at the time when all realities are diſappearing. It is at this time that hypocriſy, always ready to avail itſelf of the firſt and ſecond childhood of life, awakens in the mind of princes the ideas that had been early implanted in it; and, under pretence of guiding him to the only happineſs that remains for him, aſſumes an abſolute

abſolute empire over his will. But as this laſt age, as well as the firſt, is a ſtate of weakneſs, a continual fluctuation muſt, therefore, prevail in the government. Cabals grow more violent and more powerful than ever; the expectations of intriguing men are raiſed, and merit is leſs rewarded; men of ſuperior talents are afraid to make themſelves know'n; ſolicitations of every kind are multiplied; places are caſually beſtowed upon men all equally unfit to fill them, and yet preſumptuous enough to think they deſerve them; men who rate the eſtimation of themſelves by the contempt they entertain for others. The nation then loſes it's ſtrength, with it's confidence, and every thing is carried on with the ſame ſpirit it was undertaken; that is, without deſign, vigour, or prudence.

To raiſe a country from a ſtate of barbariſm, to maintain it in the height of it's glory, and to check the rapidity of it's decline, are three objects very difficult to accompliſh; but the laſt is certainly the moſt arduous taſk of them all. A nation riſes out of barbariſm by ſudden efforts exerted at intervals; it ſupports itſelf at the ſummit of it's proſperity by the powers it has acquired; it declines in conſequence of an univerſal languor, which has been brought on by almoſt imperceptible gradations. Barbarous nations require a long-continued reign; but ſhort reigns are beſt calculated to maintain a ſtate in it's proſperity. But the long dotage of a declining monarch lays the foundation of evils for his ſucceſſor, which it is almoſt impoſſible to remedy.

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Such was the latter part of the reign of Lewis XIV. After a ſeries of defeats and mortifications, he was ſtill happy that he could purchaſe peace by ſacrifices which made his humiliation evident. But he ſeemed to wiſh to conceal theſe ſacrifices from his people, by making them chiefly beyond ſea. It is eaſy to judge how much his pride muſt have ſuffered, in giving up to the Engliſh Hudſon's Bay, Newfoundland, and Acadia, three poſſeſſions, which, together with Canada, formed that immenſe tract of country know'n by the glorious name of New France. We ſhall ſee in the next book by what means this power, accuſtomed to conqueſt, endeavoured to repair it's loſſes.

END OF THE SIXTH VOLUME.

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